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GEOGRAPHICAL HANDBOOK SERIES

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JUGOSLAVIA

VOLUME II

HISTORY, PEOPLES AND
ADMINISTRATION

October 1944



NAVAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

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PREFACE

IN 1915 a Geographical Section was formed in the Naval Intelligence Division of the Admiralty to write Geographical Handbooks on various parts of the world. The purpose of these handbooks was to supply, by scientific research and skilled arrangement, material for the discussion of naval, military, and political problems, as distinct from the examination of the problems themselves. Many distinguished collaborators assisted in their production, and by the end of 1918 upwards of fifty volumes had been produced in Handbook and Manual form, as well as numerous short-term geographical reports. The demand for these books increased rapidly with each new issue, and they acquired a high reputation for accuracy and impartiality. They are now to be found in Service Establishments and Embassies throughout the world, and in the early years after the last war were much used by the League of Nations.

The old Handbooks have been extensively used in the present war, and experience has disclosed both their value and their limitations. On the one hand they have proved, beyond all question, how greatly the work of the fighting services and of Government Departments is facilitated if countries of strategic or political importance are covered by handbooks which deal, in a convenient and easily digested form, with their geography, ethnology, administration, and resources. On the other hand, it has become apparent that something more is needed to meet present-day requirements. The old series does not cover many of the countries closely affected by the present war (e.g. Germany, France, Poland, Spain, Portugal, to name only a few); its books are somewhat uneven in quality, and they are inadequately equipped with maps, diagrams, and photographic illustrations.

The present series of Handbooks, while owing its inspiration largely to the former series, is in no sense an attempt to revise or re-edit that series. It is an entirely new set of books, produced in the Naval Intelligence Division by trained geographers drawn largely from the Universities, and working at sub-centres established at Oxford and Cambridge. The books follow, in general, a uniform scheme, though minor modifications will be found in particular cases; and they are illustrated by numerous maps and photographs.

The purpose of the books is primarily naval. They are designed first to provide, for the use of Commanding Officers, information in a

comprehensive and convenient form about countries which they may be called upon to visit, not only in war but in peace-time; secondly, to maintain the high standard of education in the Navy and, by supplying officers with material for lectures to naval personnel ashore and afloat, to ensure for all ranks that visits to a new country shall be both interesting and profitable.

Their contents are, however, by no means confined to matters of purely naval interest. For many purposes (e.g. history, administration, resources, communications, etc.) countries must necessarily be treated as a whole, and no attempt is made to limit their treatment exclusively to coastal zones. It is hoped therefore that the Army, the Royal Air Force, and other Government Departments (many of whom have given great assistance in the production of the series) will find these Handbooks even more valuable than their predecessors proved to be both during and after the last war.

J. H. GODFREY

Director of Naval Intelligence

1942

The foregoing preface has appeared from the beginning of this series of Geographical Handbooks. It describes so effectively their origin and purpose that I have decided to retain it in its original form.

This volume has been prepared for the Naval Intelligence Division at the Cambridge sub-centre (General Editor, Dr H. C. Darby). It has been mainly written by Dr H. C. Darby and Mr I. L. Foster, with contributions from Dr Elizabeth Hill, Mrs Margaret R. Mann, Dr D. Obolensky, Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, Dr Norman White and the Research Department of the Foreign Office. The maps and diagrams have been drawn by Miss K. S. A. Froggatt, Miss M. Garside, Mrs Marion Plant and Mrs Gwen Raverat. The volume has been edited by Mr I. L. Foster.

E. G. N. RUSHBROOKE

Director of Naval Intelligence

October 1944

CONTENTS

PREFACE	PAGE iii
LIST OF MAPS AND DIAGRAMS	ix
LIST OF PLATES	xi

I. HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS UP TO

1914

I

Introduction

The Slovene Lands: Slavs and Germans up to the fifteenth century; The Reformation and Counter-Reformation; The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; The Napoleonic episode, 1797-1814; Slav consciousness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Croatia-Slavonia: Early history to 1091; Hungarian control, 1091-1526; The Turkish struggle and the 'Military Frontier'; Croatia, Hungary and Austria, 1527-1797; The Napoleonic episode, 1797-1814; The Croat national revival, 1815-49; Croatia-Slavonia under Austria, 1849-68; The 'Nagoda' of 1868; Croatia-Slavonia under Hungary, 1868-1914; The Croat situation in 1914

Dalmatia: The Byzantine period to 1102; Hungary and Venice in Dalmatia, 1102-1420; The Venetian and Turkish régime, 1420-1797; Dalmatian civilization, 1420-1797; The Napoleonic episode, 1797-1814; The Austrian period, 1815-1914

Bosnia and Hercegovina: Early history to 1353; Stephen Tvrtko, 1353-91; The Turkish conquest, 1463; The Turkish occupation, 1463-1878; The rebellions of the nineteenth century; The Austro-Hungarian régime, 1878-1914

Montenegro: The early state, 1356-1516; The elective vladikas, 1516-1696; The hereditary vladikas, 1696-1851; The reign of Danilo I, 1851-60; The reign of Nicholas I up to 1914

The Vojvodina: The Serb settlement to 1700; Eighteenth-century colonization; Magyar and Serb national feeling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Serbia: I MEDIEVAL SERBIA: Zeta and Raška to 1168; The early Nemanjids, 1169-1331; Stephen Dušan, 1331-55; The break-up of the Serbian empire, 1355-1459

II TURKISH SERBIA, 1459-1804: Moslem and Christian; Turkish administration; The turn of the tide; The condition of Serbia in the eighteenth century; Russia, Austria and Serbia in the eighteenth century

III MODERN SERBIA, 1804-1914: The first rising, 1804-13 (Kara George); The second rising, 1815-17 (Miloš Obrenović); Serbian national feeling; Miloš Obrenović, 1817-39; Michael Obrenović, 1839-42; Alexander Karageorgević, 1842-59; Miloš Obrenović, 1859-60; Michael Obrenović, 1860-68; Milan Obrenović, 1869-89; Alexander Obrenović, 1889-1903; Peter Karageorgević I, 1903-14
Macedonia: The Macedonian Problem; The Medieval Empires to 1430; The Turkish Régime; The Bulgarian Exarchate, 1870-72; The Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin, 1878; Propaganda and Terrorism, 1878-1908; The 'Young Turks', 1908-12; The Balkan Wars, 1912-13

The Yugoslavs in 1914

Bibliographical Note

II. HISTORICAL OUTLINE—1914-41

PAGE 141

The War of 1914-18: Main features of the War of 1914-18; The Treaty of London, 26 April 1915; The Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Committee; The break-up of Austria-Hungary; Negotiations at Paris and Geneva, 1918

The New State of 1918: The component parts; The Italian frontier; The Austrian frontier; The Hungarian frontier; The Roumanian frontier; The Bulgarian frontier; The Albanian frontier; A survey of the new state

The Democratic Experiment, 1919-29: Centralism versus Federalism; Party rivalries; Economic progress, 1919-29; The *Skupština* murders
The Royal Dictatorship, 1929-34: Government by decree, 1929-31; The Croat problem, 1929-31; The Constitution of 1931; Unrepresentative Government, 1931-2; The Growth of Opposition, 1932-3; The Economic Crisis, 1931-3; Foreign Affairs, 1932-4

The Regency, 1934-41: The legacy of King Alexander; The elections of May 1935; Problems of Federalism; The Concordat, 1937; Foreign Relations, 1934-8; The elections of December 1938; The *Sporazum*, August 1939; Prince Paul and the Axis, 1940

The Final Crisis, 1941: German intimidation; Prince Paul's motives; The *Coup d'Etat*; The Invasion

Bibliographical Note

III. THE PEOPLE

194

The Origin of the Southern Slavs: Pre-Slav Population; The Coming of the Slavs; The Turkish Period; Physical Characteristics

Language: The Indo-European Background; Serbo-Croat; Slovene; Standardization of the Written Language

Religion: Before the Turkish Conquest; From the Turkish Conquest to 1918; Between the Two Wars, 1919-39

Education: General Standard; Primary Education; Secondary

Education; Technical Education; Higher Education; Physical Education; Note on the Press

Distribution of Minorities: Germans; Magyars; Albanians; Roumanians; Turks; other Slavs; Italians; Jews

Bibliographical Note

IV. SOCIAL CONDITIONS PAGE 255

Social Structure: Country Life: Town Life: Food, Nutrition and Cooking: Clothing: Beliefs and Customs: Note on the Position of Women: Bibliographical Note

V. ASPECTS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN CULTURE 292

Medieval Development: The Yugoslav Oral Tradition: Modern Development: Bibliographical Note

VI. GOVERNMENT, ADMINISTRATION AND LAW 317

Introduction: The New State of 1918: The *Vidovdan* Constitution of 1921: The Constitution of 1931: Political Parties: Legal System: Police System: Bibliographical Note

VII. PUBLIC HEALTH 352

Health Administration and Services: Water Supplies: Vital Statistics: Infectious Diseases: Dietaries and Deficiency Diseases: Bibliographical Note

APPENDICES:

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------|-----|
| I. Conditions between April 1941 and June 1944 | 373 |
| II. Note on Place Names | 386 |
| III. Yugoslav Alphabets | 388 |

INDEX 389

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS OF HANDBOOK ON JUGOSLAVIA

Volume I. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Volume II. HISTORY, PEOPLES AND
ADMINISTRATION

Volume III. ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY, PORTS AND
COMMUNICATIONS

LIST OF MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

	PAGE
1. Historic divisions and religious faiths	4
2. The territories of Samo and Ottokar	7
3. Roman frontiers and the Eastern Church	14
4. The Slovene lands	<i>facing</i> 14
5. The ethnography of Croatia-Slavonia, 1910	<i>facing</i> 15
6. Croatia about A.D. 1070	16
7. The northern frontiers of the Ottoman empire, 1699-1739	19
8. The 'Military Frontier' of Austria and Hungary	20
9. The Illyrian Provinces, 1809-14	23
10. Venetian possessions, <i>circa</i> 1470 and 1700	34
11. Venice in Dalmatia	37
12. The territory of Ragusa	39
13. Italian centres in Dalmatia, 1880-1900 (according to an Italian source)	45
14. Medieval Bosnia	48
15. The growth of Montenegro	67
16. A British interpretation of the ethnography of the Vojvodina, 1910	<i>facing</i> 74
17. A Hungarian interpretation of the ethnography of the Vojvodina, 1910	<i>facing</i> 75
18. A Serbian interpretation of the ethnography of the Vojvodina, 1910	75
19. The Balkan peninsula, A.D. 910-1265	80
20. The Balkan peninsula, A.D. 1340-55	81
21. Serbia in the tenth and eleventh centuries	82
22. Serbia under the Nemanjid dynasty	87
23. Serbia under Prince Lazar (1371-89)	90
24. Serbia under George Branković (1427-56)	91
25. The Patriarchate of Peć, 1557	94
26. The growth of Serbia, 1817-1913	102
27. The Balkans in 1878	108
28. The 'Contested Zone', 1913	110
29. Areas occupied by Balkan armies at the end of April 1913	112
30. Territorial modifications by the Treaty of London, 30 May 1913	113
31. The Balkans in August 1913	115
32. Block diagram of the Morava-Vardar basin	<i>facing</i> 116
33. A Bulgarian view of the ethnography of Macedonia and surrounding areas, 1912	<i>facing</i> 117
34. A Serbian view of the ethnography of Macedonia and surrounding areas, 1913	<i>facing</i> 118
35. A British view of the ethnography of Macedonia and surrounding areas, 1912	<i>facing</i> 119

	PAGE
36. Conflicting interpretations of ethnic distributions in Macedonia, 1912-20	119
37. Conflicting claims in Macedonia, 1912	120
38. The Bulgarian Exarchate, 1870-1912	125
39. Yugoslavia in relation to Austria-Hungary	135
40. The Treaty of London, 26 April 1915	143
41. The territorial formation of Yugoslavia	149
42. Istria: Language and Frontiers	150
43. The Klagenfurt plebiscite, 10 October 1920	151
44. Bulgarian losses to Yugoslavia, 1919	153
45. The frontiers of Albania, 1913-43	154
46. The distribution of religions, 1921 (by communes)	156
47. The Balkan peninsula about A.D. 800	197
48. Turkish settlement and the <i>Čiflik</i> before 1918	199
49. Main lines of migration in Yugoslav lands from the fifteenth century onward	201
50. The distribution of Slovene and Serbo-Croat dialects	205
51. The distribution of the Štokavian dialect	207
52. The distribution of religions, 1931 (by <i>srezovi</i>)	220
53. The distribution of German speakers in 1921	239
54. The distribution of Magyar speakers in 1921	242
55. The distribution of Albanian speakers in 1921	246
56. The distribution of Roumanian speakers in 1921	248
57. The distribution of Turkish speakers in 1921	250
58. The distribution of 'Other Slav' speakers in 1921	251
59. Wooden house of Bosnian type	266
60. Old house of Šumadija type	267
61. Alpine type of house	268
62. Croatian houses showing Alpine influence	269
63. A tower-house or <i>kula</i>	270
64. Typical house of the Vardar region	272
65. Zones of cereal production	281
66. The Kličevac idol	285
67. <i>Oblasti</i> —administrative divisions, 1921-9	326
68. The boundaries of the <i>banovine</i> , 1929-41, and the boundaries of the autonomous <i>banovina</i> of Croatia, 1939-41	333
69. The distribution and frequency of cisterns and mountain springs in a karstland area	358
70. The distribution and frequency of wells with water-lifts in the loess country	359
71. The dismemberment of Yugoslavia, 1941	374
72. The dismemberment of Yugoslavia in the west, 1943	375

LIST OF PLATES

	FACING PAGE
1. The ruins of Salona	194
2. The palace of Diocletian at Split	194
3. The walls of Dubrovnik (Ragusa)	195
4. Francopan castle at Novi	195
5. Bishop Grgur of Nin	214
6. Prizren	215
7. Mostar	215
8. Djakovica	272
9. Višegrad	272
10. Hut on Velika Planina, Slovenia	273
11. Moslem house and woman, Prizren	273
12. Women of Prilep	284
13. Women of Galičnik	284
14. Women of Sarajevo	285
15. Woman of Kamnik	285
16. The church of the Holy Cross at Nin (Nona)	292
17. Rab	292
18. The west portal of Trogir cathedral	293
19. The church at Studenica	293
20. The church of Sv Klimentije at Ohrid	296
21. The monastery church at Žiža	296
22. The patriarchate at Peć	297
23. The monastery church of Visoki Dečani	297
24. The church of Gračanica	298
25. The <i>Miroslav Gospel</i>	298
26. Fresco of Stephen Nemanja and St Sava at Studenica	299
27. Detail from the fresco of the Nativity of the Virgin at Nerezi	302
28. The <i>Oktoikh</i>	303
29. A <i>guslar</i>	308
30. Kraljević Marko	308
31. Marko Marulić	309
32. Bishop Strossmayer	309
33. Main gateway to the mausoleum on Brač Island	314
34. 'The Vestal Virgin'	314
35. Detail from the mausoleum at Cavtat	314
36. 'Madonna and Angels'	315

Chapter I

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS UP TO 1914

Introduction

The Slovene Lands : Slavs and Germans up to the fifteenth century; The Reformation and Counter-Reformation; The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; The Napoleonic episode, 1797-1814; Slav consciousness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Croatia-Slavonia : Early history to 1091; Hungarian control, 1091-1526; The Turkish struggle and the 'Military Frontier'; Croatia, Hungary and Austria, 1527-1797; The Napoleonic episode, 1797-1814; The Croat national revival, 1815-49; Croatia-Slavonia under Austria, 1849-68; The 'Nagoda' of 1868; Croatia-Slavonia under Hungary, 1868-1914; The Croat situation in 1914

Dalmatia : The Byzantine period to 1102; Hungary and Venice in Dalmatia, 1102-1420; The Venetian and Turkish régime, 1420-1797; Dalmatian civilization, 1420-1797; The Napoleonic episode, 1797-1814; The Austrian period, 1815-1914

Bosnia and Hercegovina : Early history to 1353; Stephen Tvrtko, 1353-91; The Turkish conquest, 1463; The Turkish occupation, 1463-1878; The rebellions of the nineteenth century; The Austro-Hungarian régime, 1878-1914

Montenegro : The early state, 1356-1516; The elective vladikas, 1516-1696; The hereditary vladikas, 1696-1851; The reign of Danilo I, 1851-60; The reign of Nicholas I up to 1914

The Vojvodina : The Serb settlement to 1700; Eighteenth-century colonization; Magyar and Serb national feeling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Serbia : I MEDIEVAL SERBIA: Zeta and Raška to 1168; The early Nemanjids, 1169-1331; Stephen Dušan, 1331-55; The break-up of the Serbian empire, 1355-1459

II TURKISH SERBIA, 1459-1804: Moslem and Christian; Turkish administration; The turn of the tide; The condition of Serbia in the eighteenth century; Russia, Austria and Serbia in the eighteenth century

III MODERN SERBIA, 1804-1914: The first rising, 1804-13 (Kara George); The second rising, 1815-17 (Miloš Obrenović); Serbian national feeling; Miloš Obrenović, 1817-39; Michael Obrenović, 1839-42; Alexander Karageorgević, 1842-59; Miloš Obrenović, 1859-60; Michael Obrenović, 1860-68; Milan Obrenović, 1869-89; Alexander Obrenović, 1889-1903; Peter Karageorgević I, 1903-14

Macedonia : The Macedonian Problem; The Medieval Empires to 1430; The Turkish Régime; The Bulgarian Exarchate, 1870-72; The Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin, 1878; Propaganda and Terrorism, 1878-1908; The 'Young Turks', 1908-12; The Balkan Wars, 1912-13

The Yugoslavs in 1914

Bibliographical Note

INTRODUCTION

Before the coming of the Slavs, the greater part of what is now Yugoslavia was inhabited by obscure peoples known as Illyrians and Thracians (see p. 194). Along the seaboard, the movement of Greek colonization brought settlers in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; while, in the north, the migrations of the so-called 'Celtic' peoples at the beginning of the fourth century greatly affected the whole area between the Danube and the Adriatic. It was not until well on into the third century that Roman influence began to be important in the area. Pirates from the Illyrian coasts interfered with the commerce of the Adriatic, and the result was two Roman expeditions in 229 and 219 B.C. By this time, the Illyrian tribes had formed a kingdom with its capital at Skodra (Scutari, Skadar) in Albania; and during the next two centuries, especially after 168, there were intermittent Roman expeditions demanding tribute. In A.D. 9, the whole area was finally annexed and incorporated by Tiberius as part of the Roman empire under the name of 'Illyricum'. The term, however, was used in widely different senses, and places as far apart as Vienna and Athens formed part of an 'Illyricum' at different times.

From this time onward, Latin civilization spread rapidly over much of the area. Gold, silver and copper were mined in the interior, and flourishing commercial cities were to be found along the coast. The area played an important part in the Roman empire, especially in relation to the defence of the Danube frontier. It became a great recruiting ground for Roman soldiers, and many Illyrians rose to high office in the empire, even to the purple itself. Five natives of Illyria became emperors—Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and Maximilian—and all were sons of Illyrian peasants.

In A.D. 285, the Roman empire was divided into two by Diocletian—an eastern and a western half. Constantine reunited the two halves, but soon the empire was divided again, and, after various changes, what had started as an administrative division became, after A.D. 395, a final and more fundamental separation. The line of this ultimate division ran northward from near Lake Scutari to the river Sava. It seems to have corresponded roughly with the linguistic frontier between the Latin-speaking and the Greek-speaking worlds, and, roughly speaking, it agreed with the line that later separated Latin from Greek Christianity in the Balkan peninsula (Fig. 3).

During the fifth century, the invasions associated with the break-up of the Roman empire greatly affected the Illyrian lands. Visigoths, Huns and Ostrogoths, together with many lesser groups, either passed through or controlled all or part of the area. The coastal fringes of Dalmatia, too, were reconquered for the Eastern Roman empire by Justinian about A.D. 535. Soon after the middle of the sixth century the whole area was devastated by the Avars, raiding from their centre in the Danube plain; but, while Avar supremacy was soon over, a new people, who also appeared in the sixth century, were destined to make Illyria their own. These were the Slavs. Their movement into Illyria, and southwards even to the Peloponnese, was part of the great dispersion of the Slavs that took place during the sixth and seventh centuries in eastern Europe. They seem to have been driven southward by the Avar menace. Unlike their predecessors, they formed permanent settlements, and were in full occupation of Illyria by about A.D. 650.

The Slavs who thus entered the western Balkan lands comprised three groups. To the north were the Slovenes, who seem to have been the first to arrive; to the south were the Croats and the Serbs. The early distinctions between them are obscure, but they were soon accentuated by historical and cultural differences. The Slovenes and the Croats of western Illyria fell under western and Roman Catholic influence, while the Serbs of eastern Illyria fell under the influence of Constantinople and the Orthodox Church (see p. 211).

The newcomers absorbed most of the existing Romanized population. The greatest exception was the coastal area where the wealthy city-states were able to maintain their distinctive Latin character, and Freeman has described Dalmatia as 'a Slavonic land with an Italian fringe'.* Elsewhere, the scattered and nomadic remnants of the Roman provincials were known as 'Mavrovlachs' or 'Morlachs', and they preserved their separate identity and language for many centuries until they became completely Slavonicized; northern Dalmatia and maritime Croatia were known as 'Morlacchia' in the eighteenth century (see p. 196). There was also a 'Major Vlachia' in the region where the frontiers of Bosnia, Dalmatia and Croatia meet, and a 'Minor Vlachia' as far north as Požega between the Sava and the Drava.† To the south, there were still some tribes who had escaped Romanization, and who now escaped Slavonicization;

* E. A. Freeman, *The Historical Geography of Europe*, p. 115 (3rd ed. London, 1903).

† One of the regions of Serbia is still known as 'Stari Vlah', i.e. Old Wallachia.



Fig. 1. Historic divisions and religious faiths

Based on a folding map in *Résultats préliminaires du Recensement de la Population dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes du 31 Janvier 1921, publié par la direction de la Statistique d'Etat, Belgrade (Sarajevo, 1924)*.

The boundaries of the historic divisions are shown as they were in 1914; the international frontier is that of the new state that came into being after 1918—see also Fig. 41.

P. Prekomurje and M. Medjumurje—both these areas, like the Vojvodina, formed parts of the old kingdom of Hungary.

The strength of the different religious confessions in 1921 was as follows:

Orthodox	5,593,057
Roman Catholic	4,708,657
Greek Catholic (Uniate)	40,338
Moslem	1,345,271
Protestant	229,517
Jewish	64,746
Other religions	1,944
Without religion and unknown	1,381

Total	11,984,911
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Orthodox was roughly equivalent to Serbs; the Moslems of Bosnia were Serbs, while those of Montenegro and Serbia itself were largely Albanians. The Roman Catholics included Croats and Slovenes; for the boundaries of the Slovene lands, see Fig. 4. The religious distribution as it appeared in 1921 had not, of course, been constant. The changes and movements associated with the Turkish invasion, in particular, had greatly changed the medieval distribution—see, for example, pages 15, 18, 50, 70, 92, 200 and 218.

these became the Albanians of later times. With the exception of the Italians, the Morlachs and the Albanians, the whole area became Slav in language and culture, and the name of 'Illyria' disappeared from history until it was revived in quite different contexts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

An important factor in the subsequent history of the Slavs was the arrival of the Magyars in the plain of Hungary about the year 900. This Finno-Ugrian people inserted, so to speak, a wedge between the South Slavs on the one hand, and the Czechs, Poles, Slovaks and the Russians on the other. The history of the South Slavs developed, therefore, quite separately from that of their kindred folk in the rest of Europe, though there were many sentimental and cultural ties which were later emphasized.

But although isolated and although dominant in the Balkan peninsula, the history of the South Slavs was itself far from being uniform. For some 1,300 years after their arrival they were divided into groups with separate destinies, and it is convenient to consider each of these groups separately. They were distributed as follows (Fig. 1):

1. The Slovene lands
2. Croatia-Slavonia
3. Dalmatia
4. Bosnia and Hercegovina
5. Montenegro
6. The Vojvodina
7. Serbia
8. Macedonia

The general category of 'South Slavs' also includes the Bulgarians, who are not considered here. They are basically Slav with Ural-Altaic peoples superimposed.

Taken together, the history of these separate units presents a double character—'Balkan' and 'Central European'. On the one hand, there is the 'Eastern Question', and the influence first of the Byzantine and then of the Ottoman empire. On the other hand, there is the problem of the Austro-Hungarian empire and its constituent populations. The merging of these two themes into one, with the development of the Austro-German policy of *Drang nach Osten*, was the immediate prelude to the war of 1914, and to the political realization of the unity of the South Slavs.

THE SLOVENE LANDS

Slavs and Germans up to the fifteenth century

The Slovenes first appeared in the upper valley of the Sava and the surrounding regions during the latter half of the sixth century. They appear to have been under the subjection of the Avars for a time, and a little later they formed part of the Slavonic empire of Samo, A.D. 627–658 (Fig. 2). After his death, they fought against the Bavarian and Friulian dukes and also against the Avars, and in due course they submitted to the Franks (748). Under the Frankish kings, especially under Charlemagne, the work of conversion to Christianity was carried on from the patriarchate of Aquileia and the archbishopric of Salzburg, and the Slovenes have ever since formed part of the Western, as opposed to the Eastern, Church. With this missionary work was associated German colonization and the increase of German influence generally in the area. The ascendancy of the Slovene nobles was replaced by that of Frankish officials. The area of Slovene speech, too, in time became restricted more or less to the area south of the Drava, though place names to the north of the river still remain as relics of the earlier Slovene advance.

There is not much record of the Slovenes throughout the Middle Ages. Their district formed a large part of the duchy of Carantania, created in A.D. 952 by the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto I, to protect his realm against Magyar raids. From this large duchy, Carniola and then Styria broke off, in the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively, to form separate marcher counties, and, ultimately in the case of Styria, a separate duchy (Fig. 4). During the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the three units were held by various families and ecclesiastical princes; their boundaries, and their allegiance, changed from time to time, and their history is both obscure and complicated. In the thirteenth century, they came to form part of the realm of Ottokar of Bohemia who tried, as Samo had done before, to build up a Slav empire in this part of Europe (Fig. 2).

After the defeat of Ottokar by the Holy Roman Emperor, on the Marchfeld in 1278, Styria fell into the hands of the Hapsburg family, who four years later acquired Austria itself, and so started a process of territory-building that was to last over six centuries. Carinthia and Carniola were bestowed by the Emperor Lewis upon the Hapsburgs in 1335. The boundaries of the three units in relation to the

present area of Slovene speech are shown on Fig. 4. The result of the close connexions with the Holy Roman Empire in general, and now with Austria in particular, was increased German influence in the area; though, in the thirteenth century, the Slovene language was still recognized and given a legal standing at Vienna, and documents of the period show many Slovene names amongst the nobility. But German influence was in the ascendant, and, in

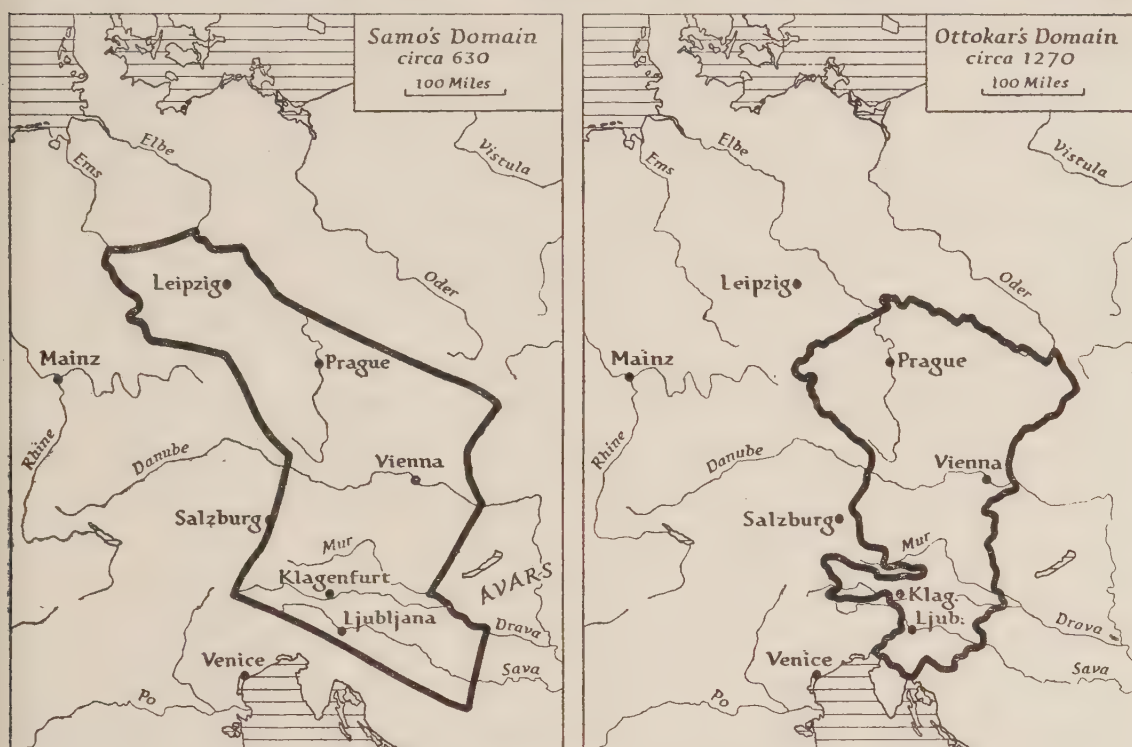


Fig. 2. The territories of Samo and Ottokar

Based on (i) J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, p. 496 (Chicago, 1928); (ii) W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, p. 79 (4th ed., London, 1930).

the following century, Rudolf IV of Austria settled a large number of Germans at Gottschee (1360), where their descendants remained to form a feature of the linguistic map of Slovenia. In 1374, the county of Istria was added to the Hapsburg domains, and in 1382 the city of Trieste, thus securing an outlet on to the Adriatic.

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation

From the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries all three provinces of Carniola, Carinthia and Styria suffered from Turkish raids, and many areas were depopulated. It is a pity that, just at this time, the Christian forces became divided. The doctrines of the Reformation found considerable support among the Slovenes during the early part of the sixteenth century. The new religion was accepted by

most of the nobles and townsmen; many churches were in Protestant hands, and Protestant schools appeared everywhere. At this time, too, as in Germany, there were peasant risings against the landowners (1573), but these were suppressed with severity.

An important feature of the Reformation here was the use of the Slovene language. Primož Trubar, a native of Carniola, translated the New Testament into Slovene (1555), and published a variety of Slovene hymn books, catechisms and other religious works. These were printed at the German Protestant centre of Tübingen and at Ljubljana itself; they appeared not only in German and Latin script, but also in Cyrillic and in the older Glagolitic script. Collaborators gathered around Trubar from Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia and Serbia, giving to this early work a 'Jugoslav' character. At one time it seemed as if the doctrines of the Reformation might spread to neighbouring Croatia. The result of all this activity was a greater interest in the study of the Slovene language, and, in 1584, Adam Bohorič produced a small grammar; a Slovene dictionary also appeared about the same time. The whole Bible, too, was translated by J. Dalmatin, and it was accompanied by a vocabulary to make the translation intelligible to Croats.

The new movement was supported by the provincial 'Estates' or parliaments, clamouring for some measure of independence from Austrian centralization. 'But the Protestant cause was doomed. Nowhere, perhaps, has the efficacy of a ruthless persecution been proved so completely as in Carniola';* and nowhere was the Counter-Reformation so successful as in the Slovene lands. The policy of the Austrian rulers, and the vigour of the Jesuits, brought about a complete victory of the old religion. Much of the Slovene Protestant literature was burnt because it was heretical; and many works perished completely. The use of Bohorič's grammar was prohibited; the power of the 'Estates' was lessened; the Protestant leaders were exiled; many thousands of Protestant townsmen went elsewhere with their industries; and the region became, and has remained, an almost exclusively Roman Catholic area. Still, despite this persecution, the result of the Protestant movement was not only to revive Slovene language and literature, but also to stimulate Slovene self-consciousness which was to flower into a national movement some three and a half centuries later.

* *Peace Handbooks: Carniola, Carinthia and Styria*, p. 14 (H.M.S.O., London, 1920).

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

After the Catholic victory, there was nothing outstanding in Slovene history during the seventeenth century. There is, however, a very interesting description of affairs in Carniola at this time in a book written by Freiherr von Valvasor—*Die Ehre Krains* (1689). The industries of the province included the production of steel at Jauerburg, of leather at Neumarktl, of lead at Assling and of cloth at Bischoflack. The province also had important trading relations with Germany and Italy. To Germany it sent honey, quicksilver and copper; and it received in return leather, wool and household goods. To Italy it sent iron, wool, corn and cattle; and it received in return silk, cloth, spices and fish. German was the official language spoken by the upper and middle classes, but Slovene was the language of the mass of the people. Italian also was spoken by many of the nobles and merchants.

During the eighteenth century, the reigns of Maria Theresa (1740–80) and Joseph II (1780–90) were noted for their centralizing tendencies. Many of the rights of the provincial 'Estates' were absorbed by the Crown, but this centralization was not extended to linguistic matters. Maria introduced a Slovene catechism into the schools, and Joseph II, despite his general Germanizing policy, was zealous for the enlightenment of his people, and promoted the translation of educational books into Slovene. In short, Slovene literature, under a cloud since the Counter-Reformation, began to recover something of its position in the life of the area. There also was economic advance. An agricultural school was founded in Carniola in 1771, and agricultural societies began to be active. The cultivation of maize and potatoes was introduced, and the draining of the great moor of Ljubljana was undertaken. The linen and silk industries, too, were encouraged.

Joseph's centralization was followed by a period of reaction, and the provincial 'Estates' regained something of their former autonomy; but, in the midst of these changes, the Slovene people became involved in the wars of the French Revolution.

The Napoleonic episode, 1797–1814

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Romantic Movement in Europe was leading many groups of peoples on the continent to a study of their own customs, legends, folklore and dialects. It was a feeling that was widespread, for example, among the Slavs;

and the Slovenes, like the Czechs, felt an impulse towards the preservation and cultivation of their own language. A number of people in the Slovene lands were drawn increasingly to write 'in the tongue of the people, and for the people'; and, under the patronage of the wealthy mineowner, Baron Zois, the movement grew apace. The leader of the new Slovene awakening was Valentin Vodnik (1785-1819), a priest of Carniola. He was a poet, a scholar and a journalist, and he devoted his life to working on the history and language of the Slovenes. In 1797, he founded the first Slovene newspaper at Ljubljana, and he also wrote a local history and a popular grammar.

The new feeling of self-consciousness soon allied itself with the liberal tendencies spread by the French Revolution. What is more, the course of the French campaigns against Austria brought French troops into the Slovene lands in 1797, in 1800, in 1805 and again in 1809. The French proclamations were issued in Slovene as well as in French and German, and Napoleon promised to respect the local customs of the country. After the last of these campaigns, the Treaty of Vienna incorporated into the French empire the units of Carniola, western Carinthia, Görz, Istria, part of Croatia, Dalmatia and Ragusa. With the capital at Ljubljana, these became the 'Illyrian Provinces', giving the French a contact between Italy and the Balkans, and guarding the route to the Near East (Fig. 9).

Under French rule, the material condition of the provinces greatly improved. Roads were built; the administrative system was re-organized; the 'Code Napoléon' was introduced; a postal system was created; and trade was fostered. But more important than these material benefits was the intellectual stimulus of the new régime. The Slovene language was encouraged in schools, and an academy or high school was founded at Ljubljana, where Vodnik himself became a teacher. Native officials were employed in local administration, and Slovene was introduced for official purposes. The glory of the new order was celebrated by Vodnik in one of his most famous poems, 'The Resurrection of Illyria'; here, he praised the work of Napoleon in awakening the consciousness of the Illyrian Slavs as a whole, for Slovenes, many Croats and some Serbs alike gained advantages from finding themselves included in one political unit. Something of the same stimulus was found even outside the Illyrian Provinces, for in 1810, at Graz in Styria, a Slovene society was founded, and in 1812 a chair of Slavonic was created at the University of Graz.

The new political unit proved, however, to be short-lived. After the disastrous Russian campaign of 1812, the French were forced to abandon the Illyrian Provinces, and, at the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15, the area was restored to the Austrian empire. Dalmatia (with Ragusa) was incorporated with Austria (see p. 42). Istria, Carinthia, Carniola and Görz became the 'kingdom of Illyria', also forming part of Austria, and this remained until 1849 (see p. 12). Finally, the connexion of Croatia and Slavonia with Hungary was renewed, except that the Military Frontier was revived (see p. 24).

Slovene consciousness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

The Austrian restoration put an end to liberal political trends in the Slovene lands, and any local autonomy they possessed became quite nominal. German influence and speech once more dominated all education. But the strong impulse towards self-consciousness did not die away. It even received encouragement from the German scholars themselves, among whom the writings of Goethe and Grimm had aroused an interest in local traditions and customs. The work of the Slovene poet and scholar Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844) in developing a Slovene literary idiom out of the numerous debased and Germanized local dialects was important. In 1808, he published the first scientific Slovene grammar. He had been deeply stirred by the 'Illyrian' experiment of Napoleon, and later worked in close association with the great Serbian scholar Vuk Karadžić, who was responsible for the development of the Serbo-Croat literary idiom (see p. 210). Kopitar wished to see Karadžić's orthographic reforms adopted amongst his own people; but this met with opposition from the more particularist Slovene writers like the great poet Prešern (1800-49). But, even so, much had been done to turn Slovene into a standard literary language.

The government at Vienna had hoped to confine the awakening national patriotism within safe literary channels, but the movement inevitably developed beyond merely literary expression. In 1843, after twenty years of agitation, Janez Bleiweiss (1808-81) at Ljubljana founded a journal called *Novice*, devoted to agricultural and economic affairs; but its scope was soon enlarged to include more general and political topics. The Slovene movement was now extending far beyond a few literary intellectuals.

Amid the crisis in the Austrian empire in 1848-9, various and conflicting proposals were put forward for the autonomy of Carniola and Carinthia, and for their union with other Slav provinces of the

empire. Thus, 'Slovenija', a Slovene society recently founded at Vienna, formulated a demand for the creation, under Hapsburg rule, of an autonomous kingdom of Slovenia, to include Carniola and all the Slovene portions of Carinthia, Styria and the Littoral—but these proposals came to nothing. There were some changes, however; and among them were the abolition of the title 'kingdom of Illyria', and the institution of Carniola, Carinthia and the other Austrian provinces as separate crown-lands, each with its own Diet or parliament. But what autonomy these possessed was extremely limited; and for the next ten years the centralizing policy of Bach (the Austrian Minister of the Interior during 1849–59) pressed hard on the Slovene and the other provinces of the empire alike. The society of St Hermagor, however, founded in 1852, did much to keep Slovene literature alive by issuing books in Slovene each year.

The new Austrian constitution of 1861 brought no advantage to the Slovenes. The reconstitution of the local Diets still left the Slovene (as opposed to German) members in a minority even in the Diet of Carniola; and a request that the minutes of the Carniolan Diet should be kept in Slovene as well as in German was firmly refused. In 1867, the 'Ausgleich', which secured the supremacy of Germans in Austria and of Magyars in Hungary, was very unpopular with the Slovenes; and in 1868–9, there was further agitation for a kingdom of Slovenia, and for the use of Slovene as the language of education and government. Against this rising Slav feeling, all German parties in Austria were united in wishing to maintain the special position of the Germans in the empire, with German as the official language of the state. Moreover, the construction of the Vienna-Trieste railway, and industrial developments in the towns, greatly strengthened the German element. The Imperial Government, however, especially under Count Taaffe (1878–93) made considerable cultural concessions to the Slovenes as to the other Slavs of the Austrian monarchy. In 1882, too, the Slovenes obtained, for the first time, a majority in the Diet of Carniola and in the town council of Ljubljana. For the rest of the century, Slovene discontent centred around the need for a university in Ljubljana, around the general question of education, and around the inadequacy of Slovene representation in the *Reichsrat* or central Austrian Parliament. But, on the other hand, this discontent never reached the high pitch of feeling to be found among some other South Slav peoples; economic conditions in Slovenia were relatively favourable,

and the Slovene group was small and scattered through six Austrian provinces as the following table shows:

Estimate of Slovene population c. 1910.

In Austria

Carniola	490,978 (93% of the total population)
Styria	409,684 (29% of the total population)
Carinthia	82,212 (21% of the total population)
Görz-Gradisca	154,564 (62% of the total population)
Trieste	56,916 (30% of the total population)
Istria	55,134 (14% of the total population)
Total	<hr/> 1,249,488 <hr/>

Elsewhere

Hungary	102,000
Italy	35,000
America	100,000
Other countries	20,000

Sources: The figures for Austria are taken from the Austrian census for 1910; the other figures are estimates from L. Niederle, *La Race Slave*, p. 142 (Paris, 1916).

Note: The Hungarian Census for 1910, however, put the number of Slovenes in Prekomurje at about 67,000, and there were very few Slovenes in Hungary apart from these. There were some 2,000 Slovenes in Fiume.

But, with the twentieth century, Slovene feeling gained much in intensity from increasing contacts with the Croats; and the local problem of Slovene rights soon became part of the wider issue of the 'South Slav question in the Hapsburg Monarchy' (see p. 133). In 1907, the introduction of manhood suffrage in the Austrian lands enabled the Slovene cause to become more vocal. The Agram (Zagreb) trials in 1908 caused much indignation among the Slovenes, and the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1908 led to riots at Ljubljana and elsewhere. Finally, the introduction of a democratic régime in Serbia (1903), together with the Serbian victories in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, aroused enthusiasm everywhere. The Clerical party, it is true, was distrustful of any association with the Orthodox Serbs; but, in some minds, the idea of union with the Croats was even becoming Yugoslav in its scope.

CROATIA-SLAVONIA

Early history to 1091

The history of the Croats from their arrival in the seventh century up to the tenth century is obscure. During this little-known period the foundation was laid for the dualism in religion and alphabet that has ever since marked the South Slav lands. Along the Adriatic seaboard, Roman influence remained important until the rise of

Venice, and it was from the bishoprics of the Adriatic cities as well as from those of north-western Italy that the Croats were converted to western Christianity. But during the ninth century, the great work of the Slav missionaries, Cyril and Methodius (before A.D. 880), changed the ecclesiastical geography of the Balkan peninsula. They not only evolved the Cyrillic alphabet, but spread the Slavonic rite

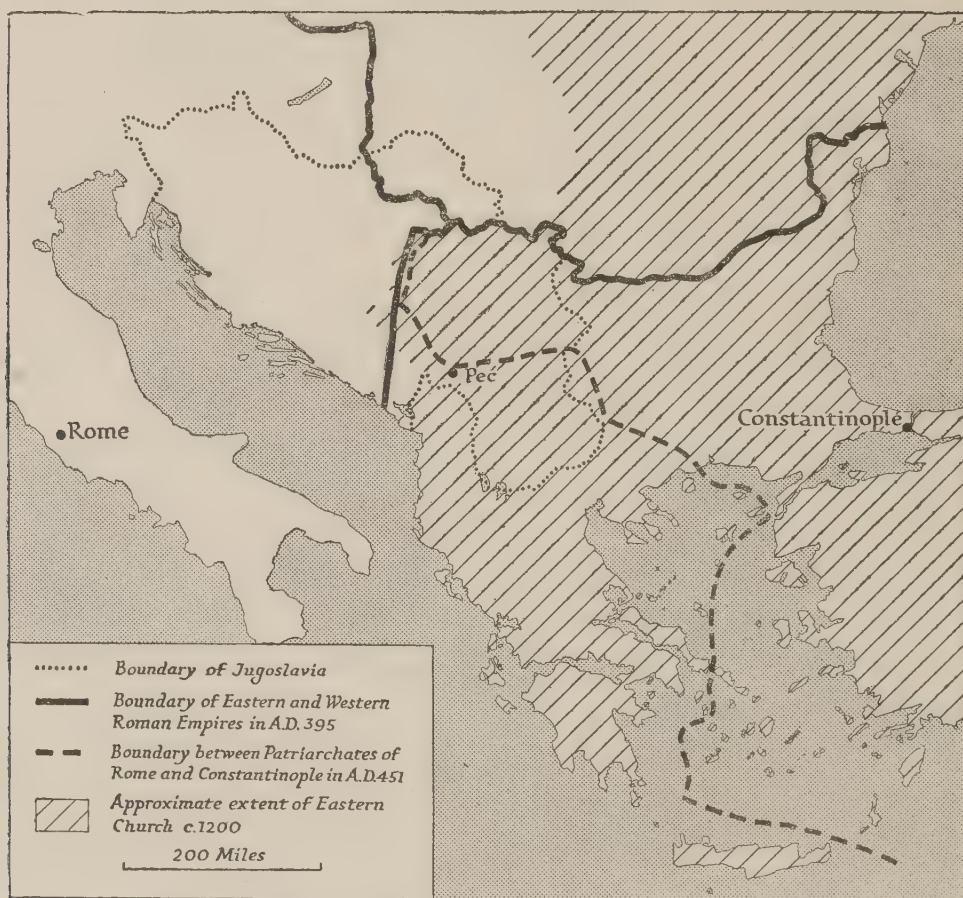


Fig. 3. Roman frontiers and the Eastern Church

Based on *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. I, maps 1, 2, 8, and vol. VI, map 57 (Cambridge, 1911 and 1929).

of the Eastern Church through the interior of the peninsula, with the result that, while the Croats retained their allegiance to Rome and with it their western alphabet, the Serbs became attached to the Eastern Church and wrote in Cyrillic characters (Fig. 3).

The Croats, under a loosely-knit tribal organization, had for long acknowledged no outside authority, but gradually those of the north passed under the influence of the Frankish empire,* while the southern Croats came under that of the Byzantine empire. The ninth century

* A relic of Frankish influence is the name Fruška Gora (i.e. Frankish Mountain) between the Drava and the Sava, south of Novi Sad. For the extent of Charlemagne's empire, see Fig. 47.

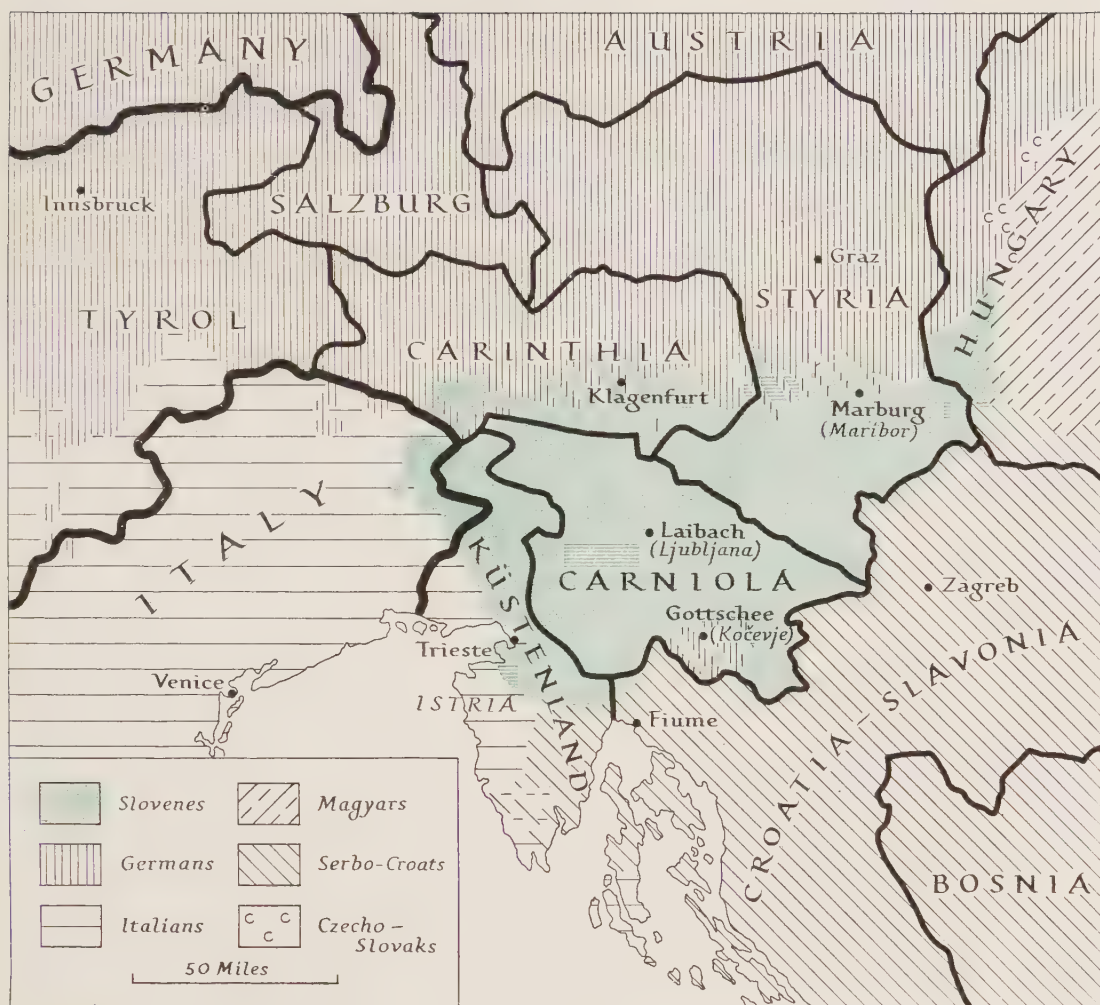


Fig. 4. The Slovene lands

Based on 1 : 1,500,000, G.S.G.S. No. 3703A, *Northern Italy: Ethnographical Map* (1918).

The pre-1918 frontiers are shown.

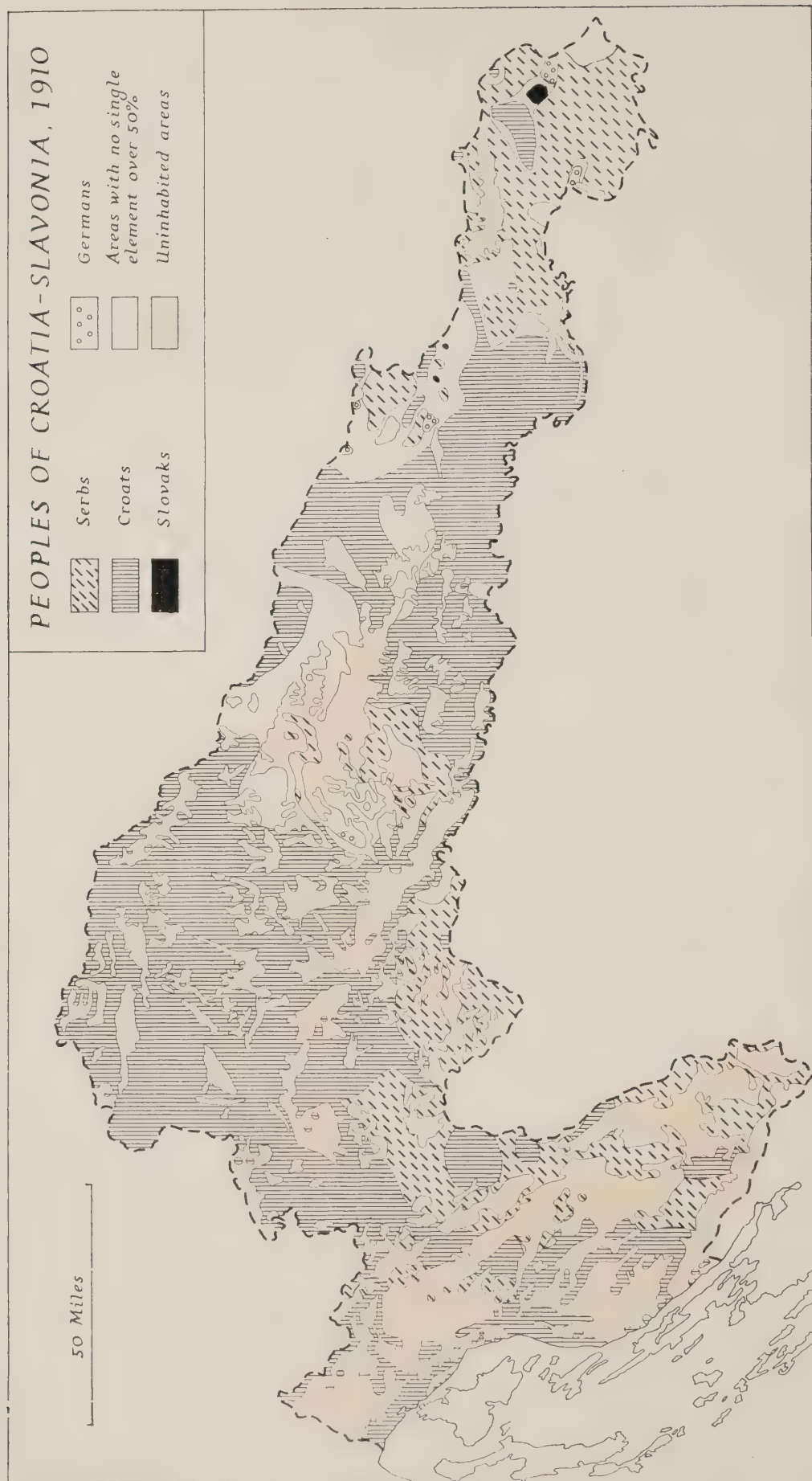


Fig. 5. The ethnography of Croatia-Slavonia, 1910

Based on the map in *The Peoples of Austria-Hungary*, vol. 1, Hungary (N.I.D., London, 1919).

The original is on a scale of 1 : 700,000, and was compiled from the Hungarian census of 1910; it makes an attempt to correct the impression given by most ethnographical maps by showing uninhabited areas—see the legend to Fig. 17.

was a period of confusion, and, during its last years, much of the area was temporarily conquered by the Byzantine emperor (A.D. 877). Soon, however, the Croats threw off this allegiance, and emerged as a unit about A.D. 924 when Tomislav, one of the župans of Nin to the north of Zara (Zadar), assumed the title of chief or king. Whatever his exact status, he was the first of a series of rulers who governed an independent country for nearly 200 years. The main arsenal and centre of these early Croat rulers was at Biograd (Zaravecchia) on the Dalmatian coast.

Records from this period are extremely scanty, and the extent of this early kingdom of Croatia has been disputed. Magyar historians hold that the main area of Croat settlement lay to the south of the Sava, and that all Slav settlements north of the Sava resulted from later dislocations of population during the Turkish period. It is, at any rate, certain that the Serb element to the north of the Sava dates from the Turkish period, but it is really impossible to be definite about the early distribution of Croats. The Croatian view is that Croats occupied the whole region south of the Drava down to the Drina and the Neretva. Whatever the correct view, Fig. 6 probably represents the maximum extent of the Croat kingdom in the eleventh century.

The Croats of this kingdom took an active part in the trade and piracy of the Adriatic, and were at times engaged in warfare with Venice. Krešimir Peter (1058-74), who at one point restored the naval power of the Croats, is the hero of many national legends, and many Croats long continued to look back upon these early centuries as the golden age of their country. One of Krešimir Peter's successors, Zvonimir (1076-89), was crowned by the legate of Pope Gregory VII.

Hungarian control, 1091-1526

The death of Zvonimir in 1089 was followed by disputes between rival claimants for the throne, and, amidst the confusion, appeal was made to Ladislas I, king of Hungary, who was related to the royal house of Croatia. He took control of Croatia in 1091, and in 1094 he founded the bishopric of Zagreb (Agram), which soon became the main ecclesiastical centre of the Croat lands. After his death in 1095, insurrection again broke out in Croatia, but this was successfully put down by his successor Koloman who was crowned king of Croatia and Dalmatia in 1102. Thus began the connexion between Croatia and Hungary, and, apart from occasional interruption, it was to last for over eight hundred years.

The exact nature of the connexion thus established between Croatia and Hungary has been disputed. Magyar historians have regarded the work of Koloman as amounting to the annexation of Croatia; while Croat historians have thought of it merely as establishing a personal link between the two countries. Probably, says Mr Macartney, 'the original relationship was incapable of definition by modern terms. Certainly it varied greatly from time to time.



Fig. 6. Croatia about A.D. 1070

Based on S. Stanojević, *Istoriski Atlas*, plate 45 (3rd ed., Beograd, 1934).

At some moments Croatia acted as a completely sovereign State; at others she was treated as a vassal. She always, however, retained a large degree of internal independence'.* Koloman reorganized the administration of his new kingdom, leaving it autonomy in domestic affairs, and placing it under a viceroy or 'Ban' who was sometimes a member of the royal house and sometimes a Croat noble.

The history of Croatia from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries is compounded partly of the general history of Hungary with its dynastic crises, and partly of the rivalries of the feudal lords within Croatia itself. The turbulent Croatian nobles were left largely alone, and some of them pursued an independent policy in the Adriatic and in Bosnia. Thus the Šubić family of Zrin and Bribir, for a

* C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and her Successors*, p. 357 (Oxford, 1937).

short period early in the fourteenth century, united parts of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia under their own rule. A little later, about 1340, instigated by the Papacy, they were carrying on a campaign against the Bogomils of Bosnia.

The extent of medieval Croatia is difficult to estimate. In the north, it does not always appear to have included Slavonia between the Sava and the Drava, and this strip of territory seems at times to have been more closely attached to Hungary. The extreme eastern portion of the strip (Syrmia) was certainly Hungarian territory which had been incorporated in 1127 after long dispute with the Byzantine empire. In the south, the limits of Croatia were restricted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To the south-east, Bosnia under Stephen Tvrtko (1353-91) was virtually independent and expanding momentarily to include parts of Croatia proper (see p. 48). To the south-west, the greater part of Dalmatia passed under Venetian control (c. 1420) and was henceforward to remain separate from Croatia for many centuries (see p. 36). But already by this time, the advancing power of the Ottoman Turks had begun to transform the political geography of the northern Balkan lands.

The Turkish struggle and the 'Military Frontier'

After the defeat of the Christians of the Balkan peninsula at Kosovo in 1389, the Turks were soon raiding northward, but the full Turkish impact did not come upon Croatia until the fall of Bosnia in 1463. Throughout the fifteenth century, the Hungarians continued to keep the Turks at bay, and the Croat nobles helped in the reorganization of the frontier defence. But, at length, in 1526, the Magyar army was routed at the battle of Mohacz; the Hungarian king was killed, and all effective Hungarian resistance was virtually at an end for the time being. The death of the king was followed by a struggle between rival claimants to the throne of Hungary. The kingdom was divided between the Catholic Ferdinand of Austria and the Protestant John Zapolya, the first of a line of independent Transylvanian princes. Faced by this division, the Turks found it easy to become masters of the greater part of the Hungarian plain, together with most of the lands between the Sava and the Drava. By the middle of the century, the whole of Hungary had fallen into three parts: a narrow strip of Austrian Hungary in the west, the principality of Transylvania in the east, and Turkish Hungary set between these two. It was a division that lasted for 150 years.

Amidst the confusion following the battle of Mohacz, the Croatian Diet elected Ferdinand of Austria as king in 1527. The Diet of Slavonia, at first elected John Zapolya, but it also afterwards declared for Ferdinand. Soon, however, much of Croatia and almost all of Slavonia were in Turkish hands. The little that remained of Slavonia (the districts of Zagreb, Križevci (Kreuz) and Varaždin) was now united to what remained of Croatia; and Zagreb, up to now in Slavonia, became henceforward the capital of Croatia.

The necessity for organizing the southern frontier against the Turk led to the formation, in 1578, of a special marchland, known as the 'Military Frontier' (*Militärgrenze*) under direct Austrian control. This was a land of forts, watch-towers and beacons, and its inhabitants, the 'graničari' or frontiersmen, held their land on a special tenure in return for military service. Turkish raids had greatly depopulated this area, and the problem of defence was partly that of re-peopling. Large numbers of foreigners were accordingly welcomed into the empty lands, particularly into eastern Croatia and into Slavonia. Some of the newcomers were Germans; most of them were Orthodox Serbs, people who had fled northward, and whose descendants were to become a complicating factor in the 'Croat question' of the nineteenth century.

In the meantime, the recovery of the Christian against the Turk had begun. By the Treaty of Carlowitz (Karlovci) in 1699, the Turks ceded practically all Croatia-Slavonia, as well as the greater part of Hungary, to the Hapsburg emperor. The Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 added further territory, though some of these latter gains had to be restored in 1739 by the Treaty of Belgrade (Fig. 7). As a result of this Christian advance, the area of the 'Military Frontier' was extended and reorganized, until it came to comprise the three 'generalates' of Karlovac (Carlstadt), Varaždin and Petrinja (Fig. 8). The Croatian Diet (and that of Hungary too) greatly resented these limitations of territorial sovereignty imposed by Austria, and repeatedly demanded the incorporation of the 'Frontier' within the civil administration of Croatia. But the frontiersmen were against any change in their status, and the imperial government saw in them a useful counterpoise against the unruly nobility of the south. The régime of the 'Frontier', despite Croat opposition and despite the decay of Turkish power, was not finally abolished until 1873-81 (see p. 74). The tradition of the frontier remained long after 1881, and a high percentage of officers in the Austro-Hungarian army continued to be drawn from the old



Fig. 7. The northern frontiers of the Ottoman empire, 1699-1739
 Based on W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 125, 133 (4th ed., London, 1930).
 D. Dalmatia (Venetian); M. Montenegro; R. Ragusa.

frontier regiments. Even as late as the war of 1914-18, these regiments showed much loyalty to the emperor, despite the great rise of Croat national feeling all around them.

Croatia, Hungary and Austria, 1527-1797

After 1527, Croat relations were complicated by the fact that they were now concerned with Austria as well as with Hungary. There



Fig. 8. The 'Military Frontier' of Austria and Hungary

Based on *The Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, map III (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1924).
M. Montenegro.

was indeed one body of opinion that looked to Austria rather than to Hungary. The loyalty of the new settlers in the 'Military Frontier' was, most naturally, given to the emperor; and during the seventeenth century, therefore, it is not surprising that some Croats were in favour of breaking the constitutional connexion with Hungary and becoming attached directly to Austria.

But there were other forces that inclined the Croats towards their traditional connexion with Hungary. In 1573, the Croat peasants, like those of the Slovene lands to the north, rose against their landowners, and demanded not only an improved status but a share

in administration. The insurrection was suppressed with severity, but the memory of the Croat peasant leader, Matija Gubec, passed into tradition. Before the end of the sixteenth century, the centralizing policy of the Hapsburgs had thrown Croatia and Hungary together. The attempt of the Emperor Rudolf II (*d.* 1612) to restrict Croatian autonomy led the Croatian Diet, or *Sabor*, to send delegates to the Hungarian Diet (1591), and the Ban of Croatia, at the request of the Croats themselves, first attended the Hungarian House of Magnates in 1625. An indication of the friendly relations between the two peoples is furnished by the fact that it was a Croat, Count Nicholas Zrinski, who, in the seventeenth century, composed the first great epic poem in Magyar. It celebrated the defence of the castle of Szeged, under his grandfather, against the Turkish army in 1566. Indeed, the Turkish danger provided another cementing influence for Croat and Hungarian interests.

The repressive policy of Leopold I (1657-1705) further drew the nobility of the two peoples together. Thus a member of the Zrinski family and other Croat nobles together with some Magyar leaders, intent on preserving Croat and Hungarian rights, were involved in a conspiracy that culminated in their execution in 1671. But this union of Croat and Magyar interests did not mean that the Croats in any way surrendered their independent status in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. When the Croat Diet acknowledged the Pragmatic Sanction in 1712 (that is, twelve years before the Hungarian Diet did so), it asserted its position clearly: 'Neither force nor conquest united us to the Hungarians, but by our spontaneous and free desire we submitted ourselves not to the kingdom [of Hungary] but to their king.'

In 1745, the extent of Croatia proper was increased by the transference of the three Slavonian counties of Syrmia (Srem), Virovitica and Požega from the 'Military Frontier' into the civil administration. Various other administrative changes later in the century show how the destiny of Croatia was swaying between Austria and Hungary. Between 1767-77, Croatia was controlled direct from Vienna, but the Croat and Hungarian nobility used its influence to transfer this control to Hungary in 1779. At the same time, Fiume, joined to Croatia in 1776, was declared an integral part of the Hungarian kingdom. The eagerness of Hungary to annex Fiume reflects the great need of the country for a seaport, and also emphasizes the importance of Croatia in providing an Adriatic seaboard for the inland Hungarian kingdom. The desire of Hungary to control

Croatia is thus seen to spring from one of the most fundamental geographical needs of the kingdom.

The centralizing rule of the Hapsburg emperor Joseph II (1780-90) left the kingdom of Hungary on the verge of rebellion, and incidentally cemented the bonds between the Croat and Magyar nobles. His successor, Leopold, abandoned the attempt at centralization, and Hungary was declared to be a free and independent kingdom under its own laws. It was in this very year (1790) that the Croat Diet asked that the common affairs of Croatia and Hungary should be regulated by the Hungarian Diet to which three Croat deputies were to be sent. Domestic affairs were, of course, reserved to the Croat Diet itself, though some Croat nobles desired to see Croatia completely incorporated into Hungary. Thus Croatia, although remaining autonomous, strengthened the bonds between itself and Hungary. It was to take over one hundred years to undo this close connexion with Hungary.

The Napoleonic episode, 1797-1815

The stirrings of Magyar nationality, and the status of Croatia within the kingdom of Hungary, were soon overshadowed by the great struggle between the Hapsburg emperor and Napoleon. In 1809, the fortunes of warfare affected the territory of Croatia in a way that had great consequences for the development of Croat nationality. It was in October of that year that, by the Treaty of Vienna, Austria was compelled to cede to France a large strip of territory, and French possessions now stretched through Carinthia, Carniola, Görz, Istria, part of Croatia, Dalmatia and Ragusa (see p. 41). Napoleon then constituted this territory into one unit, bearing the ancient name of the 'Illyrian Provinces', and it was incorporated as an integral part of the French empire (Fig. 9). As Napoleon himself said, 'Illyria is the guard set before the gates of Vienna.' It served both to cut off Austria from Italy and the Mediterranean, and to give France easier communications with the Near East.

Under the direction of Marshal Marmont, the French reorganized the administration of the area, and replaced the existing legal system by the 'Code Napoléon'. Schools were opened; and the first Croat newspapers appeared. Commerce was stimulated, and agriculture was improved. New roads were constructed. A new energy was visible in almost every sphere of activity, and the common nationality of these South Slav peoples began to rouse itself as the Croats and

Serbs of Croatia and Dalmatia and the Slovenes to the north, found themselves in the same administrative unit (see p. 42 and p. 10). The new inspiration came at an opportune moment, for Croat national feeling was already stirring. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Hungarians had been agitating with Vienna



Fig. 9. The Illyrian Provinces, 1809-14

Based on C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew, *An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, plate 8 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1924).

for the use of Magyar instead of Latin as the language of official business, but even the pro-Magyar Croat representatives of 1790 had made it clear that the Magyar tongue would not be welcome in Croatia. And, in 1805, the bishop of Zagreb had been urging the Croats to make more use of the 'lingua Illyrica', and had encouraged Croat literary endeavour.

The 'Illyrian Provinces' remained under French control for not much more than four years. The outcome of Napoleon's disastrous

Russian campaign in 1812 enabled Austria to obtain possession of her lost provinces before the end of 1813, and they were formally assigned to her by the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15. But, although brief, the French interlude was of fundamental importance to the development of Croat nationality, and the 'Illyrian' ideal was to become an inspiration to the awakening self-consciousness of the Croats throughout the nineteenth century.

The Croat national revival, 1814-49

After the defeat of Napoleon in 1813, the 'Illyrian Provinces' disappeared; the connexion of Croatia and Slavonia with Hungary was renewed, and the Austrian 'Military Frontier' was revived. The constitutional position of the two provinces, however, remained vague. The Magyars held that they were subject provinces (*partes adnexae*); the Croats held that they were allied kingdoms (*regna socia*). In any case, the Croats maintained their own elected parliament (*Sabor*) and their local autonomy under their Ban appointed by the emperor; they were also represented by delegates in the Hungarian Diet at Pressburg.

Croat feeling was moreover becoming more articulate, for, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Croats, like so many other peoples in Europe, felt the stirrings of that mysterious romantic movement that found expression everywhere in increasing national self-consciousness. The rising national feeling found a champion in Ljudevit Gaj (1809-72), part poet and part publicist, who drew much of his inspiration from the Czech and Polish national movements. The political activity of these years was rooted in a literary revival of the Serbo-Croat language, and was associated with the 'Illyrian' ideal of a union of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. Gaj wrote a book on the *Essential Principles of Croat-Slav Orthography*, and in 1835 he founded an anti-Magyar journal called 'Illyrian News' in which he advocated the union of all the South Slavs, and the use of the word 'Illyrian' instead of 'Croat', 'Serb' and 'Slovene'.

The Magyars, too, had been moved by the new stirrings of nationality, and the thirties and forties were full of demands for constitutional reform, and of social and political reactions against the centralization of Vienna. The replacement in 1840, after much agitation, of Latin by Magyar (not German) as the language of public business in Hungary was but a symptom of their own national revival. What the Magyars demanded from Vienna, however, they were not prepared to concede to Croatia, and they viewed the movement stimulated by Gaj and his associates with the greatest alarm.

The name of 'Illyria' was prohibited from being mentioned in public, and, in 1843-4, the Hungarian Diet declared that Magyar and not Latin was to become the official language of Croatia after a period of six years. In the storm of protest that followed, one of the Hungarian extremists, none other than the Magyar leader Kossuth, declared himself unable to find Croatia on the map, and stated emphatically: 'I know no Croatian nationality.' In the face of this policy of Magyarization, relations between the Croat and Magyar nationalists were rapidly approaching a complete breakdown; but before the six years' respite was over, the situation had been changed by wider events in the Austrian empire.

While the Croat-Magyar breach was developing, the Magyars themselves had been extracting concession after concession from Vienna until the climax came in 1848. In that year, the triumph of the 'February Revolution' in Paris let loose the liberal trends of the century all over Europe. In Vienna itself, the mob was roused to demand a constitution from the emperor; while Hungary, in full revolt, demanded a fully representative government of its own, and moved its parliament from Pressburg to the traditional capital of Budapest. The Hapsburg monarchy could only yield to the general onslaught upon its privileges.

But the Magyars in turn were incapable of giving to the Croats that liberty they themselves were demanding from the emperor, and the famous 'March Laws' passed by the Hungarian Diet in 1848 encroached greatly on Croatian autonomy. Their aim was to incorporate Croatia within the administrative system of Hungary, and public opinion in the Croat lands became very incensed. At this moment, too, one of the Croat leaders, Baron Joseph Jelačić, was appointed Ban, and the emperor was able to use Croat forces to subdue the Hungarian revolt. In September 1848, Jelačić, with an army of 40,000 Croats crossed the Drava, and the Serbs of Bačka and the Banat, too, armed themselves against the Magyars (see p. 74). In the bitter racial war that followed, this Croat-Serb force, together with Russian help, enabled the emperor to overcome the Magyar revolutionaries by August 1849. Thus were the Croats and Serbs driven to ally themselves with the Hapsburg monarchy against the Hungarian demand for a more fully representative government.

Croatia-Slavonia under Austria, 1849-68

The aim of Jelačić was to unite Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia with the Serb districts of South Hungary, and so create an Illyrian

state under the constitutional rule of the Hapsburg emperor. But after the victory of August 1849, both Croats and Serbs looked in vain for their reward from the emperor. It is true that the new Hapsburg constitution of 1849 proclaimed Croatia and Slavonia as an Austrian crown-land separate from Hungary, and gave the new unit the port of Fiume. It is true, too, that beyond the Danube, the two districts of Bačka and the Banat were formed into an 'autonomous Serb Vojvodina' with its capital at Temesvar (see p. 74). But under the new Austrian régime, neither the Croats nor the Serbs got the liberty they wanted. The absolutist centralization of Vienna, directed by Alexander Bach as Minister of the Interior, pressed as heavily on the loyal Croats and Serbs as on the rebellious Magyars. Indeed a contemporary was driven to assert that the Magyars 'received as punishment what the other races received as reward'. Local autonomy was withheld from Croatia on the pretext that the general unrest made it unadvisable.

The 'ten years of reaction', as the Bach period is known, were ended by the defeat of Austria in Italy, and in 1860 the 'October Diploma' promised the restoration of constitutional rights; but, in the following year, the so-called 'February Patent' of 1861 limited all effective power to an executive at Vienna, and so angered both Croats and Magyars. The nationalist Croats, thus antagonized both by Austria and by Hungary, could only continue to agitate in vain for the formation of a 'triune kingdom' of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia.

So matters stood when, faced with defeat by Prussia in 1866, the Hapsburg monarchy was forced to reorganize the structure of the state. And so it concluded with Hungary the famous 'compromise', or *Ausgleich*, of 1867. Thus was created the Dual Monarchy whose constitution was to remain unchanged until its disappearance amid the events of 1918. The essence of the compromise was that the Slav peoples of the empire were sacrificed to the two dominant partners, and Croatia was once more affiliated to Hungary. As the Hungarian statesman Andrassy assured the Austrian Chancellor von Beust, 'You look after your barbarians and we will look after ours.'

The 'Nagoda' of 1868

It now remained for the Magyars to come to terms with the Croats. The compromise, or *Nagoda* between Hungary and Croatia in 1868 was the complement of the *Ausgleich*, and it formed the basis of Croat-Magyar relations until the dismemberment of the

Hungarian state. The majority of the Croats were against the arrangement, but their press was muzzled and their franchise restricted. Ultimately the 'Nagoda' was passed through a Croatian Diet, packed by means of bribery and corruption, and helped by some officials and nobles loyal to Hungary. But even this unrepresentative assembly refused to agree to the cession of Fiume to Hungary, and the Magyars accordingly took possession of it by *force majeure* in May 1870.

The 'Nagoda' recognized that Croatia was a 'political nation possessing a special territory of its own', and it provided for provincial autonomy under the Croatian parliament (or *Sabor*) at Zagreb. Croat administration covered Internal Affairs, Justice (including Public Worship), and Education, and the heads of these three departments formed a domestic Croatian cabinet. The official language of the state was recognized as Serbo-Croat. Hungary, moreover, promised to help Croatia to obtain both Dalmatia and the Military Frontier Province, still under Austrian control. The latter territory, after many delays, was incorporated in Croatia in 1881, but Dalmatia remained Austrian until 1918.

Despite this 'Home Rule', the Croats never felt they had achieved adequate self-government. Their governor or Ban was appointed by the crown (but on the nomination of the Hungarian prime minister) and he was responsible to a Hungarian Minister of State in the Hungarian cabinet. The Croat *Sabor* was represented in the Hungarian Parliament by 40 members in the Lower House (out of a total of about 453), and by only 3 members in the Upper House (out of a total of about 400). The Croat representatives thus always faced an overwhelming majority during disputes, and these were frequent, especially over financial matters. Finally, the joint affairs of the Dual Monarchy were regulated by 60 delegates each from Austria and Hungary, and the Croatian share in the Hungarian representation was limited to five members. There was no machinery for giving Croatia any access to the central machinery of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy except through the Hungarian Minister of State.

To the Magyars, the 'Nagoda' seemed to provide a liberal measure of 'Home Rule' and independence. To the majority of Croats, inflamed by 'managed' elections, and sensitive about the claims of their nationality, it seemed to place undue restriction upon their position in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and it was bitterly resented.

Croatia-Slavonia under Hungary, 1868-1914

The years after 1868 were marked by continual friction with Hungary, and Croat opinion was repeatedly irritated by evidences of Magyar control which led more than once to outbursts of rioting. It is true that, for long, successive Bans were supported by a Unionist party in the *Sabor*, but this was because of the very restricted franchise which favoured the landowners and officials inclined to the Magyar cause. 'Croatia,' says Professor Seton-Watson, 'presents an example, probably unique in modern Europe, of perpetual juggling with the franchise. . . . Public voting and tax qualification which was extremely high for so poor a country, made "freedom of election" in Croatia a mere farce. Less than 2 per cent of the population possessed the vote, and from 50 to 60 per cent of the electors were officials.'* Magyar ascendancy reached perhaps its most obnoxious form under the régime of Count Khuen-Héderváry who was Ban from 1883-1903.

Under these conditions of repression, Croat national feeling became increasingly self-conscious. One of the leading figures in the cultural renaissance of the country was Bishop Strossmayer of Djakovo (1815-1905), best known to the west for his opposition to the promulgation of papal infallibility in the Vatican Council of 1870. It was he who founded the South Slav (Jugoslav) Academy of Science and Art at Zagreb (1867), whose first president was Franjo Rački, the pioneer of historical research in Croatia. Among other things, it published editions of early Croat poets, and documents dealing with the early history of the Southern Slavs. Strossmayer also founded a national Croatian university at Zagreb in 1874 amidst general rejoicing. He believed that only on the basis of education could the differences between the Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs be overcome, and up to his death at the age of ninety, in 1905, he did all he could to encourage the idea of Southern Slav unity.

But the liberal Yugoslav views of Strossmayer were not acceptable to the more extreme Croat nationalists who were deeply suspicious of the Serb element within Croatia-Slavonia. With the incorporation of the 'Military Frontier' in 1881, this Serb element was greatly increased. It amounted to some 25% of the total population, but the extreme Croat party under Ante Starčević refused to admit the special claims of the Serbs. It was a strange situation. What Hungary wanted from Austria she refused to Croatia; and what Croatia

* R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question*, pp. 104-5 (London, 1911).

wanted from Hungary, she in turn refused to the Serbs within her borders. Khuen-Héderváry, however, played off the Serbs against the Croats by insisting on religious toleration, on independent denominational schools, and on Serb freedom to use the Cyrillic alphabet. Serb newspapers were subsidized from Belgrade, while Croat papers were confiscated from day to day. The Serbs were not of one voice. Some, like many of the Croats themselves, wished for an independent Croatia under the Hapsburg monarchy, but a Croatia in which their own religion and alphabet would be freely admitted. Other Serbs wanted a 'Greater Serbia' that would include Croatia.

Croat-Serb relations within Croatia-Slavonia were not helped by the rising self-consciousness and independence of the Serbian state to the south in 1878 (see p. 107). In this year, too, Austria occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Croats, becoming more conscious of their historic connexions with this country, began to dream of a 'Greater Croatia' that might include Bosnia-Hercegovina, thereby antagonizing the Serbians who, too, had designs upon it. These strained relations between the Croats and their own Serbs and the Serbians to the south seemed fatal to the idea of a Yugoslav state, and, as late as 1902, there were anti-Serb riots in Zagreb. But with the coming of the new century feeling changed. A new generation of Croat and Serb leaders had been inspired with the Slav enthusiasm of Prague University. Faced with the intransigent attitude of Austria and Hungary, the Croats and Serbs began to draw together, until, ultimately, the ideal of a 'Greater Croatia' was lost in that of the union of all the Southern Slavs in a 'Jugoslavia'.

An indication of the changing attitudes of Croats and Serbs, and a possible way out of the *impasse* with Hungary came in 1904 when a constitutional crisis developed between Hungary and the Emperor. In October 1905, forty Croat deputies from Croatia, Istria and Dalmatia attempted to bargain with the Magyars. In return for support against the crown, the Croats (all-but some extremists) demanded electoral reform, freedom of the press, a Croatian administration on liberal lines, and the union of Dalmatia with Croatia. These demands, stated in the so-called 'Resolution of Fiume', won the support of the Serb party which, ten days later at Zara, declared itself in favour of joint political action between Croats and Serbs (see p. 44). The situation that followed might have had great consequences had it not been for the intransigence of the Magyar politicians who had come to terms with Austria, and did not need

the help of the Croats or their Resolution of Fiume. Indeed, in 1907, Croat sympathies were alienated by a 'Railway Regulations Act' which declared that all railway officials in Croatia should speak Magyar. As control of the railways came under a Hungarian ministry, it was argued that this new regulation did not infringe the position of Croatia under the 'Nagoda'. All negotiations on the matter proved abortive, and the railway question remained a source of friction until the end of 1913.

In the meantime, as Croat-Serb relations became increasingly friendly, the Hungarian government once more took up an anti-Serb attitude and attempted to play Catholic Croat against Orthodox Serb. In 1908, some 53 Serbs of Croatia were arrested on the charge of a pan-Serb revolutionary movement in Croatia. The 'Agram treason trials' that resulted, won considerable notoriety in the European press.* Meanwhile, the famous historian, Dr Friedjung, on the strength of documents supplied by the Austrian government, had written an article in an Austrian newspaper accusing the leaders of the Serbo-Croat coalition of receiving bribes from the Serbian government. The libel action that followed in the Vienna courts, developed into a *cause célèbre* that can be compared with the Dreyfus case in the general interest it aroused. The documents were proved to be forgeries; the accusations were shown to be false; and both the nature of the evidence and the conduct of the trial aroused great comment throughout Europe. In Croatia itself, the exposure of the forgeries only served to increase the unrest and to vindicate the Serbo-Croat coalition within the Diet.

An indication of the relative proportion of Croats and Serbs within the province at this time is provided by the 1910 census (Fig. 4):

Croats	1,638,354 (62.5%)
Serbs	644,955 (24.6%)
Slovenes	15,686 (0.6%)
Other Slavs†	61,182 (2.4%)
Germans	134,078 (5.1%)
Magyars	105,948 (4.0%)
Others	21,751 (0.8%)
Total	<hr/> 2,621,954 <hr/>

Serbs and Croats formed nearly nine-tenths of the total population. The Magyars had arrived in the latter half of the nineteenth century. They consisted of some 85,000 peasants, about 15,000 railwaymen

* For an account of this and the Friedjung trial see R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question*, pp. 179 et seq. (London, 1911).

† Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians.

and their families, together with about 5,000 miscellaneous Magyars (see p. 243). The Germans, although more numerous, were less important than the Magyars. The Slavs other than Serbo-Croats were largely peasant colonists.

Successive Bans tried to deal with the rapidly deteriorating situation in Croatia. Some tried by force, and the constitution was suspended more than once. Others tried compromise, and in November 1913, the Railway Act was repealed. It was a concession that had come too late. The victories of Serbia in the Balkan wars of 1912-13 roused great enthusiasm throughout Croatia-Slavonia, and the Yugoslav ideal of Bishop Strossmayer was rapidly becoming not only a cultural ideal but a political possibility.

The Croat situation in 1914

By 1914, three schools of opinion were to be seen in Croatia. A small element wished for the maintenance of the 'Nagoda' and association with Hungary. A second body of opinion favoured the creation of a Slav state, within the Hapsburg monarchy. This new kingdom would comprise not only Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia (with Fiume), but also the Slovene lands of the north and Bosnia-Herzegovina to the south. It would be equal in status to Austria and Hungary themselves, thus converting the Dual Monarchy into a partnership of three elements. This was the 'Trialist' solution, and it was favoured by a party in Austria itself. A third body of opinion wished for a Yugoslav solution and an independent Yugoslav state that would include Serbia as well as the other Southern Slav lands. Common interest and religious conviction favoured the Trialist solution, but racial sentiment and linguistic identity favoured the Yugoslav ideal. As a sergeant of the reserves put it when arrested for desertion: 'the Croats were always loyal to the Emperor, but he did not love them and delivered them over to the Magyars, so that they were forced to turn to the Serbs, who at least spoke their language.'*

DALMATIA

The Byzantine period to 1102

The Slav immigrants of the early seventh century were able to expel or assimilate the greater part of the existing population over much of the Balkan lands. On the eastern shores of the Adriatic,

* Quoted in C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and Her Successors*, p. 361 (Oxford, 1937).

however, the comparatively wealthy maritime cities were able to withstand the invaders, and so formed places of refuge for the Latin or Italian population. Thus it was that Dalmatia became in Freeman's phrase, 'a Slavonic land with an Italian fringe';* the fringe was far from being continuous, for the Slav settlers reached the sea at many points between Kotor (Cattaro), Zara (Zadar), Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and other Latin cities.

The sovereignty of the coastland at this time was held by the Byzantine emperors, heirs of the Roman dominion. The province had been recovered by Justinian in A.D. 535, and it remained nominally under Byzantine authority until 1102. But long before this, the Byzantine control had become a mere shadow. The political condition of the area was continually changing, and the exact status of cities and tracts of territory was vague and probably incapable of exact definition. In A.D. 806 the northern portion of the region was included within the realm of Charlemagne who agreed, however, that the coastal towns be subject to the Byzantine authority. This distinction between interior and coastal authority was to remain a constant theme throughout Dalmatian history.

For the next three centuries, the main interest of Dalmatia lay, not in the dying shadow of Byzantine authority, but in the repeated attempts of Croatia and Venice to interfere in an area which, by the nature of its coast, favoured independence and piracy. In the midst of the confusion of the ninth century, the task of policing the sea and of protecting shipping was increasingly taken over by Venice, though not without rebuffs. In the following century, the new kingdom of Croatia made its power felt and disputed Venetian interest in the area. But in the year 1000, the 'doge' of Venice (Pietro Orseolo II) after defeating the Croats and crushing the Slav pirates at the mouth of the Neretva, assumed the title of 'duke of Dalmatia', though Byzantine sovereignty was still recognized. Centuries were to pass before Dalmatia finally became Venetian. 'Nevertheless, Peter's expedition was of the highest importance; it raised the prestige of the Venetians, it opened to them a long line of factories down the Dalmatian coast, and it advanced their claim to free trade in the Adriatic.'† By the middle of the eleventh century, however, Croatian power had revived; Krešimir Peter (1058-74) restored the naval power of the Croats, and assumed the title 'king of Dalmatia'. The new unit of Croatia-Dalmatia was soon included

* E. A. Freeman, *The Historical Geography of Europe*, p. 115 (3rd edition, 1903).

† H. F. Brown in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, p. 406 (Cambridge, 1923).

within the sphere of Hungarian influence, and the twelfth century had hardly dawned when, in 1102, Koloman of Hungary was crowned King of Croatia and Dalmatia (see p. 15). The nominal suzerainty of the Byzantine empire was finally over except for one brief interlude; and, from this time onward, the medieval story of Dalmatia is very largely that of the struggle of Hungary and Venice for dominion in the Adriatic.

Hungary and Venice in Dalmatia, 1102-1420

Hungary and Venice were natural adversaries. On the one hand, Hungary, as a rising power in search of a seaboard, could not fail to be interested in the affairs of the Adriatic; and, as kings of Croatia, the rulers of Hungary were well placed for interfering in the affairs of the sea. On the other hand, Venice, with her growing interest in the trade of the Levant, could not but wish to control the sea-routes that led to her markets, and it was essential that the piracy, to which the Dalmatian coasts and islands so readily lent themselves, should be kept down. The forests of the seaboard, moreover, provided wood for the building of the Venetian galleys.

During the centuries that followed the Fourth Crusade of 1202-4, Venetian interests in the eastern Mediterranean were greatly increased, and the need for controlling Dalmatia grew correspondingly greater. 'Never,' are we told, 'was there a state so dependent upon the sea.' Structurally, the Venetian empire was coming to consist of a series of strategic points, calling-stations, islands, and merchant quarters in cities, all of which were strung along the greatest of medieval trade routes (Fig. 10). A firm grip on the Adriatic was a vital necessity to the economic life of the state.

The conflict between Hungary and Venice was frequently reflected in internal dissensions within the Dalmatian cities themselves, for they always possessed a considerable degree of autonomy whatever power held their sovereignty. Both powers had their partisans. The great Dalmatian historian, Giovanni Lucio, who lived in the seventeenth century, observed that there had always been, and were even in his own day, two classes of men in the cities of Dalmatia—'one living by terrestrial pursuits and industries, the other by navigation and fisheries; from which difference two parties grew up in each state, the landed party attaching itself to the Croats and Hungarians, the maritime party to the Venetians'.* These dissensions between

* Quoted in T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, The Quarnero and Istria*, vol. 1, p. 119 (Oxford, 1887).

jealous factions within the Dalmatian city-states did much to complicate the struggle between Hungary and Venice. And this struggle was further confused by the cross-currents of wider politics, e.g. by



Fig. 10. Venetian possessions, *circa* 1470 and 1700

Based on (i) *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XII, p. 252 (Milano, 1931); (ii) N.I.D. Handbook on *Greece*, vol. I, p. 180 (1944); (iii) W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 90, 93 and 131 (4th ed., London, 1930).

the repercussions of the Bogomil heresy, by the conflict of Venice with Genoa and the other Italian trading cities, and by the interference of the Byzantine emperors who for a short time after 1171 recovered Dalmatia.

During the period 1115-1420, there were twenty-one wars between Venice and Hungary.* It was only natural, therefore, that some of the Dalmatian cities changed hands repeatedly. Owing partly to these changes, and partly to the very nature of the sovereignty, it is difficult to put on a map the precise limits of Venetian control during any given period, or even at one moment. Thus Spalato (Split), under Hungarian sovereignty since 1105, revolted to Venice in 1327, only to return to the Hungarian allegiance in 1358. Ragusa, after many vicissitudes, recognized Venetian suzerainty between 1205 and 1358 when it, too, passed to Hungary. Zara changed hands even more often; four outbreaks against Venice are recorded between 1180 and 1345. It was to subdue Zara that the famous Fourth Crusade was diverted at the instance of Venice in 1202; and, on another occasion in the next century, Venice was able to prevent the city from acknowledging the protection of Hungary (1346). By the Treaty of Zara in 1358, however, Venice was forced to give up the title of 'duke of Dalmatia and Croatia' held by the 'doge', and to abandon her claim to Dalmatia, in particular to 'the cities of Nona, Zara, Scardona, Sebenico, Traù, Spalato and Ragusa on the mainland, also those cities with their adjacent territories, viz. Cherso, Veglia, Arbe, Pago, Brazza, Lesina, Curzola with their islands.'† At the Congress of Turin in 1381, Venice was again forced to renounce her interests in Dalmatia, and was even compelled to promise an annual tribute to the king of Hungary.

The affairs of Dalmatia were also complicated by the rise of the interior powers to the south of Hungarian Croatia. About 1196, the early Serbian state under Stephen Nemanja reached the coast from the Neretva south to Kotor (Cattaro) and beyond; the frontiers fluctuated but the Serbian frontage on the Adriatic continued for the next century and a half until it reached its greatest extent in the reign of Stephen Dušan, c. 1355 (see p. 86). Between Serbia and Croatia, the rise of Bosnia under Stephen Tvrtko (1353-91) also brought the Bosnian frontiers to the sea. By 1390, Tvrtko was able to annex a large stretch of coast; exceptions to his authority were Zara under Venetian suzerainty, and Ragusa under the protection of Hungary (see p. 48).

In the confusion following the death of Tvrtko, and amid the internal complications of the Hungarian kingdom, Venice was able

* Count Louis Voinovitch, *Dalmatia and the Yugoslav Movement*, pp. 64-85 (London, 1920).

† Quoted in T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, The Quarnero and Istria*, vol. 1, p. 112 (Oxford, 1887).

to obtain virtual control of almost the whole of the Dalmatian coastline. In 1409, Ladislas of Naples, who claimed the throne of Hungary, sold his potential rights to Venice for 100,000 ducats (Fig. 11). But although Ladislas failed in his attempt, the persistent policy of the Venetians brought its reward. By 1420, Venice had gained all the Dalmatian cities, except for Almissa (which surrendered in 1444) and Ragusa. How far Venice managed to extend her effective control inland is disputable, but it certainly did not reach very far.

The territory which the Venetians now acquired had become increasingly Slav during the preceding centuries. The Latin element in the Dalmatian cities had diminished, and, from the eleventh century onwards, the proportion of Slav names encountered in public records increased very rapidly. Nor did the Venetian victory of the fifteenth century check the ascendancy of Slav speech, for more Slavs sought refuge here from Turkish domination in the interior (see p. 200). Even outside the towns, however, there were still some other Roman provincials left. These scattered and nomadic tribes were known as 'Mavrovlachs' or 'Morlachs', and they preserved their language and identity for many centuries.* In the fourteenth century, they migrated from the central area into northern Dalmatia and maritime Croatia, which became known as 'Morlacchia' until the eighteenth century. But they were gradually assimilated by the Slavs whose language they adopted and to whom they gave their name; the Slavs of northern Dalmatia were long known as 'Morlacchi' (see p. 196).

The Venetian and Turkish régime, 1420-1797

From 1420 until the eighteenth century, the history of Dalmatia is largely a narrative of resistance to the Turk, and is part of the wider story of the rise and decline of Ottoman power in Europe. Serbia fell in 1459, Bosnia in 1463, and Hercegovina in 1483, until the Turkish and Venetian frontiers now marched with one another. Once more, the clash between hinterland and shore asserted itself, and during the next two and a half centuries there were seven periods of warfare between the two powers:

1468-79	1644-69
1499-1502	1684-99
1538-40	1714-18
1571-73	

* Compare these with the Vlachs of Greece and elsewhere—N.I.D. Handbook on *Greece*, vol. 1, pp. 358-62.

But despite 'the terror of Turkish invasion which from this time forward hung like a cloud over the country till the Turkish power itself began to decline, Dalmatia under the settled government of a great commercial power advanced rapidly in wealth and prosperity.



Fig. 11. Venice in Dalmatia

Based on the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XII, p. 252 (Milano, 1931).
M. Metković; S. Sebenico; Sp. Spalato.

The arts flourished, noble buildings sprang up, the treasuries were enriched with beautiful work of the goldsmith or silversmith'.*

The Venetians did not feel the full onslaught of the Turk until after the defeat of Hungary at Mohacz in 1526. The peace of 1540 left only the coastal cities to Venice; the interior was under the control of a Turkish 'sanjak-beg' at Klis (Clissa) near Split (Spalato), and, despite their differences and their periodic warfare, Christian

* T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, The Quarnero and Istria*, vol. I, p. 143 (Oxford, 1887).

and Turk settled down to live side by side. The coming of the Turk had, however, further increased the Slav character of the coastal cities, for refugees from the interior entered Christian territory. The pirate community of the Uskoks*, at Klis and then at Senj (Zengg), was in origin a band of refugees (see p. 50), and it was the piracies of these fugitives that led to a renewal of war during 1571-73, when a Dalmatian squadron contributed to Christian victory over the Turkish navy at the famous battle of Lepanto in 1571. The reports and diaries of Venetian agents provide an extremely interesting picture of the relations between Christian and Moslem along the Dalmatian frontier itself at this time—of desultory warfare, of clashes between the Turkish raiders and the townsfolk, of challenges to single combat, of love affairs involving members of both sides, and of the rough courtesy and chivalry to be met with amongst the antagonism of the two faiths, for, as one Venetian wrote, 'no nation are all evil alike'.† The peace of 1573 left the Dalmatian frontier more or less as it had been, each party regaining what had been lost.

War between Venice and Turkey did not break out again for over seventy years. In 1645, the pasha of Bosnia entered Dalmatia at the head of a large army, but the Venetians were able to repulse these forces, and, after intermittent warfare in Dalmatia and elsewhere, peace was declared in 1669. Venice lost Crete, but she was able to retain all she had acquired in Dalmatia, though there was some dispute before the exact limits of the frontier were agreed to by both parties. The result was the 'Nani line', delimited by 1671, and named after the Venetian delegate (Fig. 11).

Hostilities again broke out in 1684. Turkey was already at war with Austria; repulsed from Vienna in 1683, the Turks continued to lose ground until all Hungary had been recovered by the Christians. To the south, the Morea was taken by the Venetians who were also able to drive the Turks back from the seaboard of Dalmatia into the interior. The war was closed by the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, one of the most disastrous treaties suffered by the Turks; in the south, the Venetians gained the Morea, and in Dalmatia the *nuovo*

* The activities of the Uskoks led to disputes between Venice and Austria, and, at the Treaty of Madrid in 1617, their community was dissolved, and they were removed into the interior of Croatia where they gave the name to some highlands west of Zagreb (Uskočka Planina). They have also given their name to the Uskoci country on the watershed between the Piva and Morača rivers in Montenegro. There is, too, an Uskoplje near Dubrovnik (Ragusa).

† Long extracts from these reports and diaries for the period 1571-4 are given in Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, vol. II, pp. 297-350 (London, 1848).

acquisto, delimited in 1700, brought her frontiers up to the 'Grimani line', so called after the Venetian negotiator (Fig. 11). Ragusa, however, remained independent, and, in order to prevent disputes with Venice, Ragusan territory was separated from that of Venice by a narrow strip of land on either side; the Turks thus reached the sea at Klek and Sutorina*, and this curious feature of the frontier remained until the war of 1914-18 (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12. The territory of Ragusa

Based mainly on S. Stanojević, *Istoriski Atlas*, plate 52 (3rd ed., Beograd, 1934).

The seventh Venetian-Turkish war broke out in 1714 and, while Venice suffered reverses elsewhere, she made small gains in Dalmatia; by the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, the Morea to the south was lost, but the *nuovissimo acquisto* in Dalmatia brought the Venetian frontier up to the 'Mocenigo line', delimited in 1721-33, and so called after the Venetian representative (Fig. 11). The threat of the Turkish power in Dalmatia had ceased to be critical; and the province of Dalmatia now remained secure in Venetian hands until 1797.

Dalmatian civilization, 1420-1797

It is possible to assess the character of Venetian rule in Dalmatia between 1420 and 1797 in two different ways. On the one hand, the

* 'At these two points, Ragusan jealousy of the Venetians, whom the little Republic feared more than the Turks, had stipulated that a narrow strip of territory should be conceded to the Turks to divide her by an impassable barrier from the dangerous proximity of the Venetians'—T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, The Quarnero and Istria*, vol. 1, p. 163 (Oxford, 1887).

Venetians kept a firm hand on the administration of the province, and were suspicious of any local political vitality; the province as a whole was ruled by the 'Proveditore Generale' at Zara, and the 'grand council' of each town became increasingly the instrument of the resident Venetian agent ('proveditore'). Local industry, too, was suppressed so as to prevent competition with Venetian trade; thus a salt monopoly hindered the fishing industry, and a deliberate attempt was made to ruin the local oil and silk industries by cutting down the olive and mulberry trees. Popular education was also discouraged, and Zara did not possess a printing press until 1796. The Orthodox Serbs of the province were at a disadvantage as compared with the Roman Catholics, and were without civil rights.

Yet, on the other hand, the intellectual life of the Dalmatian cities during the fifteenth, the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries reached a far higher level than that of the purely Slav lands of the Balkans. Art and architecture flourished in the towns, and the cathedrals at Zara (Zadar), Sebenico (Šibenik), Curzola (Korčula), Traù (Trogir) and elsewhere, tell their own story of Venetian greatness. The Lion of St Mark, in stone or marble, looks down from many public buildings as a reminder of the one-time government of the province.

But the highest flowering of Dalmatian culture was to be found outside the Venetian frontiers—in Ragusa. In 1358, the city had passed under Hungarian control (see p. 35), but the defeat of Hungary by the Turks in 1526 left the city free. Here, the mixture of Latin and Slav resulted in an outstanding development of art and literature from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, and the city has sometimes been called the 'South Slavonic Athens'. Ragusa, too, provided vigorous competition to the trade of Venice, and the English word 'argosy' is derived from the carracks of Ragusa known variously to Englishmen as *Argouse*, *Argusa* and *Aragosa*. The changing trade-routes of the sixteenth century, however, and a great earthquake in 1667, put a check to this prosperity.

The eighteenth century saw a decline in the quality of Dalmatian civilization as a whole. 'As the commercial greatness of Venice declined towards the end of her career, the prosperity of her dependencies naturally passed away at the same time. Decay and torpor set in, shipbuilding declined, the ports were deserted and the trade came nearly to a standstill. The arts were neglected, and the series of architectural works was closed, except at Ragusa, which still preserved its liberties and some remains of its former prosperity.

The palaces of the rich Venetian and native merchants were deserted or neglected, and many of them fell into the ruin which now meets the eye at every turn.* Such was the condition of the province when Venetian rule came to an end in 1797.

The Napoleonic episode, 1797-1814

Before the eighteenth century was over, Dalmatia felt the impact of wider events in Europe. In 1797, Napoleon extinguished the Venetian republic, and Dalmatia, together with the rest of Venetian territory, was ceded to Austria by the Treaty of Campo Formio. There was some confusion when the change-over took place, but order was soon restored on the arrival of Austrian troops and officials.

The Austrians, however, were not long in occupation before there were further changes. After the defeat of Austria at Austerlitz, Dalmatia was ceded to France by the Treaty of Pressburg in December 1805, and the province was incorporated within the ephemeral kingdom of Italy, of which Napoleon himself was king. This acquisition, however, met with disapproval from Russia, who seized the Gulf of Kotor (Bocche di Cattaro), garrisoned Castelnovo, and induced the Montenegrins to rise in opposition to the French (see p. 62). Ragusa, set between the new French province and the Russian forces, was still independent; indeed it was the only neutral state in the Mediterranean during 1800-05, and its carrying trade greatly prospered from this fact. Now, in 1805, Napoleon seized the city, though the republic was not decreed as having 'ceased to exist' until 1808. In the meantime, much of its territory continued to be raided by Russian and Montenegrin troops until the Treaty of Tilsit with Russia in July 1807.

The disasters of Austria in 1809 led to the cession of western Croatia and the complete loss of her seaboard by the Treaty of Vienna (14 October); France now possessed a large strip of territory stretching through Carinthia, Carniola, Görz, Istria, part of Croatia, Dalmatia and Ragusa (Fig. 9). Napoleon then reconstituted this territory into one unit bearing the ancient name of the 'Illyrian Provinces', and it was incorporated as an integral part of the French empire. It served both to cut off Austria from Italy and the Mediterranean, and to give France easier communications with the Near East. And so it remained as part of France, until the French were driven out by English and Austrian forces. Lissa (Vis), the outermost of the Dalmatian islands, was occupied by an English naval force under

* T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, The Quarnero and Istria*, vol. I, p. 181 (Oxford, 1887).

Captain William Hoste in 1811, and the island became a valuable centre for smuggling English goods into Dalmatia and beyond, despite the blockade instituted by Napoleon. Shortly after this, the islands of Curzola (Korčula), Lesina (Hvar) and Lagosta (Lastovo) were also occupied by the English; and by 1814 the last French garrison had been withdrawn from the whole of Dalmatia. At the peace negotiations that followed, the Illyrian Provinces were formally ceded to Austria.

The French occupation, though only a brief interlude, is of considerable importance in the history of Dalmatia. Under the direction of Marshal Marmont, the material condition of the province was greatly improved; new roads were built; agriculture was improved; commerce was stimulated; and brigandage was suppressed. The Orthodox population gained in status and an Orthodox bishop was appointed. A new energy was visible in almost every sphere of activity, and the common nationality of the Southern Slav peoples began to rouse itself as Croats, Serbs and Slovenes found themselves in the same political unit. The enthusiasm and inspiration that went under the term 'Illyrian' was to count for much in the development of Yugoslav consciousness during the nineteenth century.

The Austrian period, 1815-1914

By the treaties of 1814-15, Dalmatia (with Ragusa) was assigned to Austria; and in 1822 its administration was reorganized, and the political privileges of the Dalmatian nobility were replaced by a bureaucracy dependent upon Vienna. From the small educated class of Italian townsmen, Austria recruited men for the administrative services of Lombardy-Venetia, then under Austrian control. The mass of the Slav people remained without adequate educational facilities, and even by the end of the century, the figures for illiteracy were very high. The 'Illyrian' impetus still found echoes in the province, and found expression, too, in the writings of the poet Tommaseo (1802-74). In 1836, a Slav review was started at Zara (Zadar); and in 1849, a politico-literary society was founded, also at Zara, but this was suppressed in 1850.

It was not until 1861 that Slav feeling had a chance to become somewhat more vocal under the new Austrian constitution of that year. The franchise, however, was restricted; thus 15,672 Italian speakers were represented by 26 deputies in the Dalmatian Diet, while some 140,000 Slav speakers were represented by only 15. But, even so, the next ten years saw a vigorous parliamentary clash

between (1) the 'autonomists' who stood for Dalmatian autonomy, and who were increasingly inclined to sympathize with Italian culture, and (2) the 'unionists' who stood for the realization of the Illyrian ideal and for union with Croatia. In 1860-1, Austria had promised to bring about the union of Dalmatia with Croatia-Slavonia; and, in the 'Nagoda' of 1868, Hungary expressly promised to support the demand for the union of Dalmatia with Croatia-Slavonia; and the Ban of Croatia included 'Dalmatia' among his titles (see p. 27). Within the province itself, feeling in favour of union with Croatia was rapidly gaining ground, and, at the elections of July 1870, the Slav 'unionist' party obtained a majority—25 as against 16. It seemed a turning point in the history of Dalmatia, and the Diet presented an address to the crown asking to be united to Croatia, but this was met only by vague promises, and the union was destined not to be realized until the formation of Yugoslavia itself.

Indeed, one of the main facts preventing the union had already taken place in 1867. In that year, the *Ausgleich* between Austria and Hungary, and all it implied, had adjusted an equipose that was to remain undisturbed throughout the long reign of Francis Joseph (1848-1916), and it was to the interest of neither member of the new Dual Monarchy to promote union amongst their Southern Slav subjects (see p. 26). Croatia, therefore, remained tied to Hungary, while Dalmatia, though now geographically separate from the Austrian lands, remained subordinate to Vienna (Fig. 39). Hungarian railway policy, moreover, did as much as possible throughout the century to hinder anything that might serve to bring the Southern Slavs together, and any railway project that might connect the Dalmatian seaboard to its hinterland was opposed; thus Spalato (Split) remained without a rail connexion with the interior.

It had often been said that Bosnia and Hercegovina were the head of which Dalmatia was the face, and the occupation of these provinces in 1878 aroused great interest among the Dalmatians. But, as the century drew to a close, relations with Bosnia were overshadowed by the fate of Croatia (see p. 29). The resistance of the Croats to Hungarian repression aroused ever-increasing sympathy in Dalmatia, and, in 1903, the Dalmatian representatives at the central Austrian parliament petitioned Francis Joseph to interfere against the ill-treatment of their compatriots under the Hungarian régime. In October 1905 came the 'Resolution of Fiume', made by 40 Croat deputies from Dalmatia, Croatia and Istria. It was drafted by Dr Ante Trumbić, formerly mayor of Spalato, and

it demanded the union of Dalmatia with Croatia (see p. 29). The 'Resolution of Zara' made by 26 Serb deputies later in the same month, gave support to the idea of union with Croatia; but no response to these resolutions came from either the Magyar or the imperial authorities. Events were moving to a climax, however, and, after the introduction of manhood suffrage in 1907, the Dalmatian deputies were able to speak on behalf of their Croatian kinsmen with ever greater authority than before.

The year 1909 marked a great step forward in the realization of Slav aims. As early as 1866 some knowledge of the 'Illyrian' language had been required of the Austro-Dalmatian officials, but not until 1909 was Serbo-Croat put on an absolute equality with Italian as an official language, despite the fact that Slav speakers numbered some 96% of the total population. The Austrian census of 1910 gave the following figures:

Serbo-Croats	610,669
Italians	18,028
Germans	3,081
Others	3,077
Total	<hr/> 634,855 <hr/>

Of the Serbo-Croats, some 80% were Croats. The Italian element had been declining during the preceding 30 years, and the only town now left with an Italian-speaking majority was Zara (Fig. 13).

With the victories of Serbia in the Balkan War of 1912 (see p. 114), there were pro-Serbian demonstrations at many places in Dalmatia, and the Austrian government was forced to resort to repressive measures against the press and against some of the town councils. The fear that Austria might declare war on Serbia at this time brought a protest from the Serbo-Croat party leaders at Zara against the danger of involving 'our people in a civil war', i.e. of making Austrian Slavs fight against Serbian Slavs. Such was the temper of the Dalmatian people when the events of 1914 broke upon them.

BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA

Early History to 1353

The early history of Bosnia is completely obscure. The country took its name from the river called in classical times *Bosante* or *Bosanius*, and this name came to be applied to those Slav tribes

who entered the region during the seventh century. To the north and west were the Croats; to the south and east, the Serbs. Magyar historians have stated that the land of Bosnia was the nucleus of the original kingdom of Croatia, and this seems likely; but, whatever

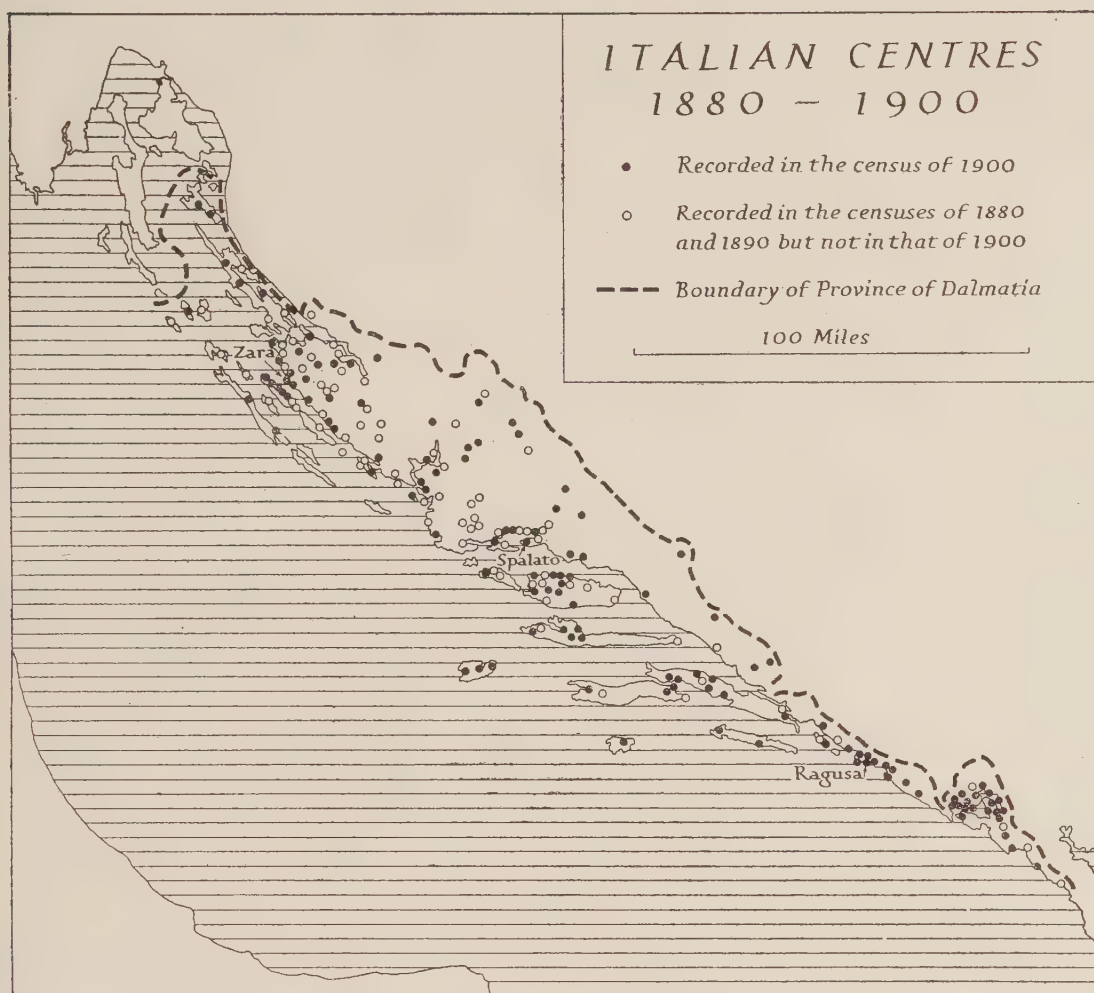


Fig. 13. Italian centres in Dalmatia, 1880-1900 (according to an Italian source)

Based on G. Dainelli, *La Dalmazia*, plate xi (Novara, 1918).

According to the census of 1900 there were 138 Italian centres; according to that of 1890 there were 137; and in that of 1880 there were 144. Individual centres, however, were constantly changing; thus only 63 places appear in each of the three censuses; while the total number of places mentioned in all three amounted to 235. Some of these 'centres' were very small; only Zara and Spalato had an Italian population of over 1,000 in 1900. Zara had 9,018 Italians out of a total population of 12,726; Spalato had 1,046 Italians out of a total of 12,696. Between 1880 and 1900 there had been considerable migration of Italians into Zara from the rest of Dalmatia.

the truth may be, it is clear that the overlordship of the area changed hands many times. Croats, Serbs, Hungarians and Byzantine emperors, all held parts of it at different periods. Divided amongst autonomous tribal units or *župe*, separated by difficult country, and possessing neither well-defined natural frontiers nor a strong nuclear

area, the Slavs of Bosnia do not seem to have attained a collective individuality until the close of the twelfth century.

From these dim and legendary times, the ruler or 'Ban' named Kulin (1180–1204) stands out as the champion of the national autonomy of Bosnia, and his reign became famous for its prosperity; in good years, the farmers of later centuries used to say 'the times of Kulin are coming back again'. He was the first great figure in Bosnian history (Fig. 14). The trade of his country was developed by the merchants of Ragusa, and Italian craftsmen found plenty of scope for their activities within its frontiers. By this time, the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches had left Bosnia exposed to both influences, and this complication was further increased by the spread of the Bogomil heresy in Balkan lands. The Bogomils were so called from a Bulgarian priest of the tenth century named 'Bogomil' or 'Beloved of God'. They were opposed to the doctrines and practices both of the Roman and the Orthodox Churches, and they have been described as 'the puritans of south-eastern Europe'. Bogomil influence began to be important in Bosnia from the middle of the twelfth century onward, and here the Bogomils were known as Patarenes (see p. 213). Kulin himself formally abandoned the Roman Church in order to become a Bogomil, but he was forced to recant later under pressure from the Papacy and from Hungary (1203). Despite this, the Bogomil heresy continued to spread throughout the land, and it became a most important factor in the subsequent development of the country.

The century following the death of Kulin in 1204 was a confused period, marked by repeated Hungarian attempts to gain control of Bosnia by exploiting its religious differences. But neither religious crusades nor theological concessions were able to win the Bogomils back to the Roman faith. From 1254 onwards, the power of the Bans was much reduced under Hungarian suzerainty, and the country was divided into two—the southern hilly portion (Upper Bosnia) was allowed to remain under the native Bans, while the northern portion (Lower Bosnia) was placed more directly under Hungarian control. This latter area, joined to a portion of northern Serbia, was known as the duchy of Mačva and Bosnia, and formed a Hungarian outpost against Bulgaria and Serbia. It was in response to a request from one of its dukes that the Franciscans settled in the region; from the latter part of the thirteenth century onward, they played an important part in the history of Bosnia. The direct authority of Hungary in Lower Bosnia was replaced in 1299 when

the area passed into the hands of the Croatian family of Šubić. These Croat princes, as vassals of Hungary, succeeded in re-uniting the two areas of Upper and Lower Bosnia; but, before the first quarter of the fourteenth century was over, Bosnia had once more regained its independence under a native dynasty.

A native rising in 1322 led to the fall of the Šubić family, and to the election of a Bogomil, Stephen Kotromanić, as Ban. It was the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Bosnia. To the east, the Serbian empire had expanded greatly (see p. 84), and the reign of Kotromanić was full of complicated relations with Serbia, with Hungary and its vassal state of Croatia, with Venice and with the Papacy—sometimes in alliance with one, sometimes with another. In 1325, he was able to acquire the principality of Hum or Hlum (later called Hercegovina), which had been disputed between Hungarian and Serbian powers. Bosnia was thus in control of the coast between Spalato (Split) and the Neretva, and had gained an outlet to the sea for the first time in its history. In 1340, Kotromanić, persuaded by the king of Hungary, adopted the Roman Catholic faith. The result was considerable internal friction, for the Bogomils had now grown into a powerful organization centred at Janjići in the valley of the Bosna. In the warfare between Kotromanić and Stephen Dušan of Serbia, the Bogomils of Bosnia supported the latter, but Dušan was too occupied with affairs elsewhere to realize any designs he might have had on Bosnia (see p. 86).

Stephen Tvrtko, 1353–91

In 1353, Kotromanić was succeeded by his nephew Stephen Tvrtko, a minor, and for nearly seventeen years the history of Bosnia again became disfigured by civil war and foreign interference. It is true that the death of Stephen Dušan removed the danger of a Serbian occupation of Bosnia, but, coming from the north, Hungary occupied Hlum and continued to encourage the persecution of the Bogomils. It was not until 1370, and only then after many vicissitudes, that Tvrtko was master of his country.

Having overcome all opposition at home, Tvrtko started upon a career of foreign conquest. He recovered Hlum and annexed part of Dalmatia (1374). Moreover, the death of Dušan had left the Serbian empire exposed to attack, and the Serbian tsar, Lazar, ceded a large tract to Bosnia in return for help; this addition included the principality of Trabunja and a strip of coast as far as Cattaro. In 1376, Tvrtko was able to have himself crowned 'king of the Serbs,

and of Bosnia, and of the Coast'. In 1378 he married the daughter of the last Bulgarian emperor, and some have declared that he hoped to found a state stretching from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. His court at Sutjeska and Bobovac took that of the Byzantine empire as its model, and his officers of state held high-sounding Greek titles. The leadership of the Southern Slavs had, in fact, passed



Fig. 14. Medieval Bosnia

Based on S. Stanojević, *Istoriski Atlas*, plate 47 (3rd ed., Beograd, 1934).

from Serbia to Bosnia; while Tvrtko had become a king, Lazar was merely prince (*knez*) of the diminished state of Serbia (see p. 89). Later in his reign, Tvrtko was able to take a large stretch of the Adriatic coast from Hungary; the large islands of Brazza (Brač), Lesina (Hvar) and Curzola (Korčula), too, surrendered (Fig. 14). The mainland towns of Zara and Ragusa, however, remained independent. By 1390 he was able to include among his titles that of 'king of Dalmatia and Croatia'. It was the highest point in the power of medieval Bosnia. But before Tvrtko died in 1391, the battle of Kosovo had struck a fatal blow at the possibility of a new Slav

empire in the Balkans. Many Serbs now fled northward and westward into Bosnia, though the full effects of the Turkish victory did not react for some time on Bosnian territory itself.

The Turkish conquest, 1463

At the death of Tvrtko, disorder broke out, and the power of Bosnia began to disappear as rapidly as it had grown. 'The Bosnian kingdom had been made too fast. Its founder had not lived long enough to weld his conquests into an harmonious whole, to combine Catholic Croats with Orthodox Serbs, Bosnian Slavs with the Latin population of the Dalmatian coast towns, Bogomil heretics with the zealous partisans of Rome'.* A disputed succession added fuel to the disorder. For half a century after 1391, the great barons seem to have fought indiscriminately against one another, against the king, against Hungary, and against the Turk. During this confusion, the Turks, aided possibly by Bogomils, were able to make their first invasion of Bosnia (1398), and Venice was able to control the Dalmatian coast (see p. 36).

During the early fifteenth century, the ineffective successors of Tvrtko were overshadowed by three great magnates—Hrvoje Vukčić, Sandalj Hranić and Stephen Vukčić. The first of these was duke of Spalato; the two latter, uncle and nephew, were successively in control of the land of Hum. In 1448, Stephen was granted the title of 'duke of St Sava' either by the emperor Frederick III, or by the Pope, and this title, in its German form of 'Herzog' is the origin of the name Hercegovina.

In the meantime, the Turks were becoming more and more involved in the disturbed political life of the country. They frequently had to be bought off with tribute, but even this did not always prevent them raiding for plunder and slaves. Soon, this raiding was to end in complete conquest. The accession of Mohammed II started a new period in Balkan history. The fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the complete subjection of Serbia in 1459, left Bosnia open to the Turks. When it was invaded in 1460, no help came from Venice, Hungary or the Papacy. Its last king, Stephen Tomašević, surrendered, only to be beheaded by the Turks in 1463. The fierce persecution of Bogomils by Roman Catholics and Orthodox had made the invaders welcome to a large section of the population, and this, together with the rivalries of the nobles,

* W. Miller in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. iv, p. 559 (Cambridge, 1923).

made the Turkish occupation of the greater part of the country a comparatively easy matter.

Some small areas held out. In the south-west, Hercegovina held out, under the successor of Stephen Vukčić, until 1483, although Albania (or the greater part of it) had fallen in 1478. In the north, the districts of Jajce and Srebrnik were organized into marchlands for the defence of Hungary against the Turk; the banat of Srebrnik fell in 1520, that of Jajce in 1528. Large numbers of Christians (mainly Roman Catholics) then fled into Croatia-Slavonia and Hungary; others went to Ragusa, and even to Venice and Rome. Many, on reaching the coast, continued to wage war against the Turks in the Adriatic, from Klis (Clissa) in north-west Dalmatia and then from Senj (Zengg) in maritime Croatia. These, known as Uskoks from the Serbo-Croat word for 'refugee' gained considerable notoriety as pirates (see p. 38).

The Turkish occupation, 1463-1878

The arrival of the Turks was the great opportunity of the Bosnian Bogomils—not that they remained Bogomils, for most of them adopted the Moslem faith (Fig. 46). 'They had preferred,' according to W. Miller, 'to be conquered by the Sultan than converted by the Pope; and, when once they had been conquered, they did not hesitate to be converted also. The Mussulman creed possessed not a few points of resemblance with their own despised heresy. It conferred, too, the practical advantage upon those who embraced it of retaining their lands and their feudal privileges. Thus Bosnia presents us with the curious phenomenon of an aristocratic caste, Slav by race yet Mohammedan by religion. Hence the country affords a striking contrast to Serbia. There the Mohammedans were never anything more than a foreign colony of Turks; here the Mohammedans were native Slavs, men of the same race as the Christians, whom they despised.'*

The Turkish governor of the new province was the 'vali' whose residence was shifted from Vrhbosna (Sarajevo) to Banja Luka and then to Travnik, and who interfered but little in local administration. The Bosnian state remained in fact an aristocratic republic, whose nominal head was now a Moslem instead of a Christian. Some governors were native Bosnians, and indeed it was sometimes said that 'one must be the son of a Christian renegade to attain to the

* W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, p. 494 (Cambridge, 1921).

highest dignities of the Turkish empire'.* Below the governor came the Bogomil nobles changed into Bosnian *begs*. While keeping their own language, they imitated the dress, the titles and many of the customs of the Turkish court; 'they displayed the customary zeal of converts and out-Ottomaned the Ottomans in their religious fanaticism', and indeed they became, at times, 'keener in the cause of Islam than the Commander of the Faithful himself'.† This military caste of nobles was headed by the *kapetans* of the 48 divisions of the province. They exercised complete control over their subjects, but were obliged to furnish contingents of cavalry for the Sultan's armies. As might be expected, they played a great part in the Turkish wars, and rose to high administrative and military office in the Turkish empire, even to that of grand vizier. Below the military caste came the Christian peasants, the *raja*, whose duty was to till the soil and to pay their taxes to their lords. Among their hardships, perhaps the greatest was the system by which a proportion of their sons were forcibly recruited into the Turkish corps of janissaries.‡

But although the foreign yoke pressed hard in many ways, the Turks allowed considerable toleration in religious matters. To the Turk, social status depended on religion, and, while power had to be restricted to Moslems, the Christians were left free to organize their communal affairs and their private laws as they pleased. At the time of the conquest, in the fifteenth century, the Orthodox element seems to have been relatively unimportant, at any rate, judging from its influence upon affairs of state. But now, under the Moslem régime, the Orthodox Church came to stand for almost all Christians in the eyes of the Turks, and the Bosnian Christians were placed under the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. This did not mean that Roman Catholic influence disappeared, for, in 1463, the Franciscans received a charter from Mohammed II allowing them the free exercise of their religion. But, even so, Catholicism died out or was expelled over large areas and became restricted very largely to the more barren region of the south-west. Many Catholics had fled into Croatia-Slavonia and Hungary, and large settlements of Serbs, Vlachs and other Orthodox peoples were made in northern Bosnia right up to the limits of the province along the Kupa river. The effects of these movements of

* W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

† W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

‡ See the N.I.D. Handbook on *Greece*, vol. 1, pp. 187-8 for a discussion of the janissaries.

population in determining the relative distribution of Roman Catholics and Orthodox remain up to the present day (Fig. 46).

From the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries the Turks were intermittently at war with the surrounding states. Along the Croatian and Montenegrin frontiers, Christians and Moslems were always in dispute without regard to any formal treaties between their respective sovereigns. The Croatian frontier between Hungary and Turkey was particularly important because the Turks regarded Bosnia as the stepping-stone to Hungary, and because the Bosnian nobles were hereditary foes of Hungary and its Roman Catholic faith. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Bosnian nobles were continually engaged in Turkish campaigns in Hungary. But after 1683, when the Turks were repulsed from Vienna, the period of Turkish expansion was over, and the Bosnians had then to defend their frontiers against the advancing Christians. The Austro-Turkish war continued intermittently for the rest of the century. The forces of the Austrian emperor invaded Bosnia in 1688, and again in 1690 when they retired north of the Sava accompanied by some 3,000 Roman Catholics. There was a third invasion in 1693, and a fourth in 1697; on this last occasion, some 40,000 Bosnian Christians migrated northwards and were settled in Slavonia. After long negotiation, the Treaty of Carlowitz was concluded in January 1699. By this treaty, Austria gained the whole of Transylvania and Hungary except for the Banat of Temesvar, together with the greater part of Slavonia and Croatia (Fig. 7). The decline which had begun with the repulse from Vienna in 1683 was confirmed, and, from this time forward, the Turkish power began to be a nuisance rather than a danger to the Christian powers of Europe.

War between Turkey and Austria (in alliance with Venice) broke out again in 1715, and, after a series of Austrian victories, the Treaty of Passarowitz was concluded in 1718. Austria retained its conquests, and so acquired the Banat of Temesvar together with a strip of territory south of the Sava and the Danube, and extending east-west from northern Bosnia into northern Serbia. A renewal of war with the Turk in 1737 proved disastrous to Austria, and was ended by the humiliating Treaty of Belgrade in 1739; all the territory gained at Passarowitz was surrendered with the exception of the Banat of Temesvar (Fig. 7).

For the next half-century, no Austrian army again crossed the line of the Sava and the Danube. In 1787, however, Austria and Turkey were again at war; Bosnia and Serbia were once more occupied by

Austrian troops, but these gains were restored to the Turk by the Treaty of Sistova in 1791. Thus the Bosnian frontier with Austria remained as it was fixed in 1739 until Bosnia became an Austrian province in fact, if not in name, in 1878.

The rebellions of the nineteenth century

During the nineteenth century the main factors important in the fortunes of Bosnia and Hercegovina were the presence of: (1) a conservative landholding Moslem aristocracy more fanatical than the central Ottoman authorities at Constantinople; (2) an oppressed Christian peasantry subject to heavy taxation. Both these elements gave rise to continual unrest throughout the century.

The Moslem nobles were of the same race and language as the people they oppressed. But although Slavs, they were 'more Turkish than the Turks in outlook', and were bitterly opposed to the reform of the Ottoman empire attempted by Mahmud II (1808-39). The Bosnian unrest against the 'infidel' or 'giaour' sultan burst into revolt in 1821 during the insurrections in Albania, Greece and Moldavia. A second Bosnian revolt in 1828, at the time of the Russo-Turkish war, was quelled with much bloodshed. Further attempts at reform, after the war was over, produced a third rebellion in 1831, when the Bosnian nobles denounced the sultan as a traitor to Islam, and when their leader, Hussein Aga, 'the dragon of Bosnia', preached a Holy War against the Ottoman authorities. This revolt, like the others, was quelled, but the power of the Bosnian nobles still remained unbroken. The abolition of the kapetanates in 1837 provoked yet another revolt which flared to greater dimensions in 1839 when the sultan promised some measure of legal equality and more equitable taxation to his Christian populations. For the next decade or so, the authority of the central government at Constantinople remained virtually in abeyance in Bosnia. Not until 1850 did a Turkish army under Omer Pasha bring about the downfall of the Moslem aristocracy of Bosnia. Sarajevo, long the stronghold of the nobles, now replaced Travnik as the official capital of the country.

But the downfall of the local aristocracy did not bring much relief to the Christian peasantry of Bosnia. The reforms that had been promised did not get far beyond the paper on which they were written. The corruption of the Turkish officials and the exactions of the tax-farmers continued to make the life of the peasants barely supportable. In 1858, the Christian peasantry of northern Bosnia rose in revolt, and in the following year some definite measures of

agrarian reform were promised. In 1861-2, there was another revolt against the Turkish bureaucracy—this time in Hercegovina. In the meantime, large numbers of Bosnians were leaving for the Slav territories of Austria and Hungary. At length, the Bosnian unrest broke out with consequences that were fatal to the Turkish authority in the province. The harvest of 1874 had been a bad one, and in July 1875, the village of Nevesinje, near Mostar in Hercegovina, rose against the local officials. Within a short time, the whole of Bosnia and Hercegovina were in revolt—stimulated by the advantages gained by Serbia in 1867 and by the Cretan insurrection of 1866-9. The agitation spread to all the Balkans, and even beyond to the courts of the great European powers. The villagers of Nevesinje had set in train a sequence of events that made the Eastern Question, with all its complexities, the centre of European politics for the next three years.

After consultation with Germany and Russia, Count Andrassy, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, presented a Note to the Turkish government (January 1876) enumerating the concessions that should be made to the Christians of Bosnia and Hercegovina. But, while the sultan promised to carry out the reforms, the rebels refused to accept the Andrassy Note unless the Great Powers provided a guarantee that the reforms would really be carried out. The 'Berlin Memorandum' of May 1876 accordingly threatened action by Austria, Russia and Germany, if the proposed reforms were not adopted. But, in the meantime, the situation in the Balkans had become worse. Serbia and Montenegro declared war against the Turk, and the Bulgars rose in revolt; all attempts to secure a settlement were fruitless. In April 1877, Russia, the champion of the Slav peoples, entered the war, and defeated the Turkish army by the following January. The Treaty of San Stefano, that resulted in March 1878, proposed a radical re-settlement of Balkan frontiers, and provided for reforms in Bosnia. But these provisions were revised a few months later by the Treaty of Berlin (July 1878) which placed the two provinces under Austro-Hungarian administration. Austria-Hungary, moreover, was allowed to place garrisons at three places (Priboj, Prijepolje and Plevlje) in the sanjak of Novi Pazar—the narrow strip separating Serbia and Montenegro (see p. 108). The Austrian argument for the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina had been the incapacity of the Turkish government and the inconvenience caused by continual disturbances in the neighbouring Turkish territory. But it was understood that the provinces should

be returned to Turkey after the restoration of order and prosperity, and an agreement to this effect was signed by the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish representatives. The occupation aroused considerable controversy, but one writer, who was no advocate of Austria, went so far as to admit that it was 'the only solution within the sphere of practical politics'.*

The Austro-Hungarian régime, 1878-1914

The entry of Austrian troops into the two provinces proved difficult. The Moslems actively opposed the change, and there was some guerilla fighting; Orthodox opinion, too, was very unfavourable; but by October 1878 the last resistance had been overcome. The details of the occupation were arranged by an Austrian-Turkish Convention in April 1879, which affirmed that the territories were still technically under Turkish sovereignty despite the Austro-Hungarian control. The administration of the area was then placed under the Austro-Hungarian Joint Ministry of Finance; the provinces were included within the Austro-Hungarian Customs Union; and conscription was introduced. These measures resulted in an insurrection in Hercegovina in 1881-2, and, after this, the administration was placed under the control of Baron Kállay.

Kállay had long been a student of Balkan affairs, and had written a *History of the Serbs* in which the racial identity of Serbs and Bosnians was admitted. He now, however, prohibited the circulation of his own book in the provinces, lest it might help pro-Serb tendencies, and he proceeded to create an ordered administration on somewhat despotic lines. A promise to transfer the administration to native Bosnians was not fulfilled, and the number of Austro-Hungarian officials kept increasing. These officials for the most part were Catholics and included not only Germans but Croats, Magyars and even Czechs and Poles. The Catholic element was further increased during the early years of the occupation by the colonization of a belt of land in the north along the right bank of the Sava; the colonists were mainly Catholics brought from other parts of the Empire, and they included Germans, Poles, Czechs and Ruthenians. Their descendants were to form a noticeable feature of the linguistic map (Fig. 58). Moreover, Kállay's policy in agrarian, educational and ecclesiastical affairs was greatly criticized by various sections of the population. But it must be admitted that the material condition of the two provinces greatly improved under his control.

* A. J. Evans, *Illyrian Letters*, p. 240 (London, 1878).

Brigandage disappeared; sanitary measures were undertaken; public works were constructed, though it is true that roads and railways were built to suit the strategic convenience of Austria-Hungary rather than the economic needs of Bosnia—thus rail-connexion with the ports of the Adriatic, except for Metković and Gruž, was forbidden. Still, when he died in 1903 he had managed to convert 'two wild Turkish provinces into a civilized state, even if the subjects did not love their civilizers'.* Indeed, Kállay was accused by his opponents of promoting material prosperity at the expense of the ideals of Bosnian culture.

The administration of his successor, Baron Burian (1903–12) was notable for the outright annexation of the two provinces to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy on 7 October 1908. It was a sudden move made without consulting the other Powers, except Russia, and despite the agreement that the two provinces should be returned after the restoration of law and order. But now, the reform of the Turkish empire in 1908 was making the Austro-Hungarian government nervous lest the Turks would seek to end the provisional occupation on the grounds of their own improved administration. Moreover, Russia was weak after the war with Japan. It was also a precautionary measure against the possibility of a strong Serbian state that might block the *Drang nach Osten* policy developed by Germany and Austria (see p. 112).

In the meantime, both Orthodox and Moslems were asking for the introduction of a proper constitution, and in 1910 an imperial decree granted some control of the administration to a legislature elected on the basis of manhood suffrage. The legislative power of the newly elected parliament, however, was limited, and all bills required approval from the Austro-Hungarian authorities before they could become law. Executive control, moreover, still remained in the hands of the governor and his officials, and there was, consequently, much agitation for the establishment of a ministry responsible to the local parliament.

The new parliament consisted of 73 elected and 17 *ex officio* members. The various faiths were represented in direct proportion to their numerical strength in the country as can be seen from the table on p. 57. The Moslems were apprehensive, especially in view of the decline of Turkish power in the Balkans. The Roman Catholic Croats looked towards Vienna, but even they were increasingly

* W. Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors, 1801–1927*, p. 397 (Cambridge, 1936).

Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1910
Religion, Representation and Servile element

	Population	%	Elected seats in Parliament	Total seats in Parliament	Percentage of servile tenures
Orthodox	825,418	43·5	32	37	74·0 (Serbs)
Moslems	612,137	32·4	24	29	4·6 (Moslems)
Roman Catholics	434,061	22·8	16	23	21·4 (Croats)
Uniates	8,136	0·4	—	—	—
Jews	11,868	0·6	1	1	—
Protestants	6,342	0·3	—	—	—
Total	1,897,962	100	73	90	100

Based on (1) the Austro-Hungarian Census of 1910; (2) L. von Südland, *Die jugoslawische Frage*, p. 211 (Vienna, 1918).

Note: While the Orthodox element was exclusively Serb, the Roman Catholic element included a small percentage of Germans, Poles and others as well as Croats.

alienated by affairs in Croatia itself (see p. 31). The Orthodox Serbs turned more and more towards the neighbouring state of Serbia; their economic status was, moreover, much worse than that of the other two elements; the table above shows that, while there were few Moslem serfs, and while Croat serfs were roughly in proportion to the total Croat population, the proportion of Serb serfs greatly exceeded that of the Serb population; this agrarian inferiority caused much dissatisfaction among the Orthodox Serbs. It was only natural, therefore, that the victories of Serbia in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 should arouse enthusiasm amongst the Bosnian Serbs, as indeed among all the Slav population of Austria-Hungary. Revolutionary activities were abroad in the provinces, and there was some terrorism caused by the Serb secret society known as 'the Black Hand'. When the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian and Hungarian crowns, visited Sarajevo on 28 June 1914, both he and his consort were assassinated in the streets of the city by a young Bosnian revolutionary, Gavrilo Princip. In the following month the Austro-Hungarian government accused the Serbian government of tolerating terrorist organizations directed against Austria-Hungary, and the succeeding train of events soon developed into the war of 1914-18.

MONTENEGRO

‘When God finished making the world,’ runs an old Montenegrin ballad, ‘He found that he had a great many rocks left in His bag; so He tumbled the whole lot on to a wild and desolate bit of country—and that is how Montenegro was formed.’ This legend embodies the most important fact about the geography and history of Montenegro. The barren limestone country around Cetinje was a very inaccessible fortress, and its caves and rocks gave ample opportunity for guerilla warfare. It was the only corner of the Balkan lands to escape the domination of the Turk from the fourteenth century onwards; here, a few Christian shepherds and goatherds always maintained their liberty. It is true that the Turks sometimes managed to penetrate into the wild country, but they could never maintain their forces for long. Montenegro remained a small island of freedom in the great Turkish sea. That is her essential role in the history of the Balkans.

The early state, 1356–1516

The early history of the area that became Montenegro forms part of the story of the rise of medieval Serbia (see p. 78); and it was not until the break-up of Stephen Dušan’s realm, after his death in 1355, that the distinctive unit to be known as Montenegro emerged as an independent principality. This area north of Lake Scutari had been known as the ‘Zeta’. It had formed one of the divisions of Dušan’s realm, and, in the confusion after his death, a noble named Balša succeeded in establishing himself as master of the Zeta, and in founding a dynasty that lasted until 1421. The territory of the Balšas seems to have reached the Adriatic at Antivari (Bar) and Budva, and its capital, for a time at any rate, was Scutari itself.

The name ‘Montenegro’, which came into general use early in the fifteenth century, is the Venetian form of the Italian ‘Monte Nero’, called ‘Crna Gora’ in Serbian.* This term ‘Black Mountain’ was derived, according to one view, from the dark appearance, at some seasons of the year, of Mount Lovćen in the country immediately to the north of Lake Scutari. The name itself, then, is an indication of the close relations that existed with the Venetians; the Balšas and Venice were sometimes in dispute about Scutari and other places, and at other times in alliance against the Turk.

* The name Crnagora is first found in a Ragusan document of 1362.

When the male line of the Balšas became extinct in 1422, a new dynasty was founded by Stephen Crnojević, who established his capital at Zabljak on the north-eastern edge of Lake Scutari. By this time the Ottoman Turks had advanced well into the Balkan peninsula; and, after the great Christian defeat at Kosovo in 1389, the Zeta in the west had provided a refuge for many who fled before the Turkish conquerors. In the next century, it was entirely surrounded by Turkish territory; Bosnia fell in 1463; Albania in 1478; Hercegovina in 1482. Thus it was that Stephen's successor, Ivan the Black, was forced, after a vigorous resistance, to abandon Zabljak, and to withdraw to the more inaccessible country to the north. Here, not far from Mount Lovćen itself, he established his new capital at Cetinje, and this was to remain the capital throughout all the later history of the principality. 'The history of the Zeta becomes narrowed down into the history of the Crnagora.'* Deprived of the fertile plains of Lake Scutari, and cut off from the sea-coast, the destiny of the Montenegrins was to wage incessant warfare against the Turk for almost four centuries.

A whole cycle of legends has gathered around the name of 'Ivan the Black', telling of his valorous deeds against the Turks, and of how one day he would arise to drive the Turks from Europe. Amongst his other preoccupations, Ivan found time to import a printing press from Venice. It was set up at Obod, to the south of Cetinje, and from here, after 1493, were issued some of the earliest books printed in Cyrillic characters. Ivan built a monastery at Cetinje, and also made it the see of a bishopric. It was into the hands of these bishops, or 'vladikas', that the destiny of the country passed when the descendants of Ivan ceased to rule in 1516.

The elective Vladikas, 1516–1696

The Crnojević dynasty came to an end in 1516, when Montenegro was transformed from a temporal into a theocratic state. The details of the change-over are obscure and not easy to explain, but the monks of Cetinje, from among whom the bishop was elected, had always been a powerful influence in Crna Gora. Their fanaticism had supported the struggle against the Turks; and, during the absences of the later Crnojević rulers, who seemed frequently to have gone to Venice, the bishops may have taken control. At any rate, tradition records that the last Crnojević transferred his power to the bishop before leaving finally for Venice.

* F. S. Stevenson, *A History of Montenegro*, p. 100 (London, 1914).

From this time onward until 1851, the Montenegrins were ruled by the bishops of Cetinje. The bishops, or vladikas, were elected by local assemblies, and after 1557 were consecrated by the patriarch of Peć. 'The word Vladika meant originally a powerful person, or ruler. . . . and in several Slavonic languages, as for example in Czech, it has preserved unimpaired its original signification. Among the Serbs, however, it was gradually specialized, and came to denote a bishop. The title of Vladika which belonged to the rulers of Montenegro . . . though used in the Serbian sense of the word, may be said to unite in itself the notion of secular power with that of episcopal rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.'* This union of temporal and spiritual power may well have saved Montenegro. The vladika, as an ecclesiastic, was unlikely to desert to Islam, while his office was by its nature beyond the ambitions of civil chieftains. A civil governor still continued to exist, but his office was entirely subsidiary to that of the vladika.

The seventeenth century was marked by repeated attacks from the Turks; Cetinje itself was captured in 1623 and again in 1687; and it has even been asserted that the Montenegrins were forced to pay tribute for a short time. But the Turks soon withdrew, for, in the mountains of Montenegro, 'a small army is beaten, a large one dies of starvation'. At this time, two Montenegrins may be said to have existed—a free Montenegro centred on Cetinje, and an 'unredeemed' Montenegro peopled by Islamized Slavs and Albanians to the south.

The hereditary Vladikas, 1696–1851

The reign of Danilo I, 1696–1737. Before the end of the century a great change took place in 1696 when Danilo Petrović of Njeguši was elected vladika. His successors continued to rule the state until it came to an end in the war of 1914–18. The new feature introduced in 1696 was the power of the vladika to nominate a successor from among his relations. As an Orthodox bishop, he was perforce celibate, and the succession was usually continued from uncle to nephew. It was in this strange form that the theocratic state adopted the hereditary principle. The central power was thus established upon a more stable basis, and with this new cohesion the state was better able to withstand changes from without.

During the reign of Danilo I, every effort was made to revive the fortunes of Montenegro, and there were important developments

* F. S. Stevenson, *History of Montenegro*, pp. 128–9 (London, 1914).

both at home and abroad. Some Montenegrins had adopted Islam, and these renegades had given aid to the Turks. In order to strengthen the state, therefore, desperate action was taken, and on Christmas Eve 1702, a wholesale massacre (the 'Montenegrin Vespers') rid the country of all Mohammedan men—whether Turks, Slavs or Albanians. After this, the struggle was continued with fury on both sides. In 1712, the Turks were defeated, but two years later they were able, after many reverses, to occupy Cetinje for a third time. The Turkish army, however, harassed by guerilla warfare, and suffering from lack of provisions, was forced to leave the desolation of Crna Gora to its hardy inhabitants.

In the meantime, a new factor had entered into Montenegrin history. Russia, under Peter the Great, was in conflict with the Turks, and had become increasingly interested in the Balkan lands (see p. 98). In 1711, Russian envoys came to the Montenegrins, as to other Balkan peoples, and the Czar was hailed as the champion of Montenegrin liberty. In 1715, the vladika visited Peter the Great, who recognized Montenegrin independence, and granted a subsidy to enable the Montenegrins to rebuild their devastated villages. It was the first of many subsidies, and each of Danilo's successors repeated his visit to the Czar. From now on, sometimes in conjunction with the Venetians, Danilo was able to win many victories over the Turks, and, by his death in 1737, Montenegrin independence had survived some of its most fierce trials.

The reign of Sava, 1737–82. Danilo was succeeded in 1737 by his nephew Sava, a man of very different temperament, and little suited to be the ruler of a hardy people in stirring times. He was unable to check the feuds and independence of the local chieftains, and it was a confused period. For the greater part of his reign, Sava remained in the background, and the effective power was wielded for a time by his cousin Vasilije (1750–66), and then by an adventurer, Stephen Mali (1768–74), who claimed to be none other than the Russian Emperor Peter III, the murdered husband of Catherine II. Despite these complicated internal politics, the Turks were on several occasions defeated, and were never able to subdue Crna Gora.

The reign of Peter I, 1782–1830. A new era dawned in 1782 with the death of Sava and the accession of his nephew Peter I, called by later generations 'the great and holy vladika'. He did much to reconcile the dissensions among the various factions of the state; the administration was reorganized, and in 1798 the first Montenegrin

code of laws was established. 'He found a loose coalition of clans and tribes, he left a relatively united state'.* Peter, too, took part in the war of Austria and Russia against Turkey, though the Montenegrins gained nothing out of the peace treaties made by their allies in 1791 (Sistova) and 1792 (Jassy) respectively. He was able, however, to inflict a defeat on the Turks, and, in the year 1799, Turkey not only formally recognized the independence of Montenegro, but declared that 'the Montenegrins have never been subjects of our Sublime Porte'—an admission that was to constitute an important precedent. About this time, also, the region of the Brda (to the north-east), whose inhabitants had often acted in concert with those of Crna Gora, was finally incorporated into Montenegro. It was a considerable accession of territory at the expense of Turkey (Fig. 15).

During these years, too, the little principality became involved in the complicated affairs of Napoleonic Europe. In 1806, the Montenegrins, in conjunction with the Russians, opposed the French in Dalmatia by contesting Ragusa and occupying the shores of the Gulf of Kotor (the Bocche di Cattaro—see p. 41). The Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, however, left the gulf to the French until 1813, when the Montenegrins, in combination this time with the British fleet under Admiral Fremantle, drove them out. For five months, the shores of the gulf became Montenegrin territory, and the capital of Montenegro was even moved to Kotor (Cattaro). But at the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15, the area was handed back to the Austrians, and, on the advice of Russia, Montenegro yielded up the port together with the opportunity of an outlet on the Adriatic; the state remained landlocked until 1878-80.

For the last fifteen years of his life, Peter was at work uniting the various elements of the state in the face of constant threat from the Turks. He attempted to put an end to the blood feuds which, handed down from one generation to another, had divided families and weakened the country. Under his guidance, the government was assuming a more stable and consolidated character, and the way was prepared for the reforms of his successors. Turkish invasions were repelled in 1819-21 and again in 1828-9. When he died in 1830, at the age of eighty-one, he was venerated as a saint. He had nearly doubled the area of his country; he had cemented relations with Russia; and he had maintained the integrity of the state in the face both of internal friction and of Turkish peril.

* H. W. V. Temperley, *History of Serbia*, p. 154 (London, 1919).

The reign of Peter II, 1830-51. Peter I was succeeded in 1830 by his nephew Peter II, who became famous as a reformer, warrior and poet. His famous epic 'The Mountain Garland' tells of the struggle against the Turk. He set up a printing press at Cetinje, and did much to further the humanizing work of his predecessor. Important changes were made, too, in the administration of the country, in order to increase the central authority at the expense of the unruly chiefs. A permanent senate of twelve members was established at Cetinje in 1831; and a year later the office of civil governor, which had existed since 1516, was abolished; the ecclesiastical power thus completely swallowed the temporal authority.

Abroad, the first half of Peter II's reign was marked by continued struggle against the Turks. The Montenegrins were offered the town of Scutari, and a frontage on the Adriatic together with a part of Hercegovina, if they would but acknowledge Turkish suzerainty. But Peter II refused to accept the bargain, and war broke out in 1832. Although the Montenegrins invaded both Albania and Hercegovina, they were unable to acquire any permanent territory. On one occasion a body of Montenegrins seized Zabljak and held it against the Turks until Peter II ordered its restoration on ground of expediency (1835). There were also disputes with Austria. The Pastrović clan, along the Adriatic shore between Budva and Spizza (Spič), sold its territory to Montenegro, always eager for a chance of an outlet to the sea. But Austria objected to this infringement of its sovereignty, and Montenegro had to yield up the territory in return for monetary compensation, and the Austro-Montenegrin frontier was delimited in 1838-40.

The total population of the state at this time was estimated at about 120,000 people. It was not a large number, but there were difficulties towards the end of Peter II's reign when the crops—chiefly potatoes and maize—failed. The famine was so severe that the Crnička district and part of the Brda, already discontented with the centralizing tendencies of the period, attempted to secede, and were reunited only after a short period of civil war (1847). In the following year, the Montenegrins, like the Serbians, were stirred by the action of the Austrian Serbs in the revolution of 1848 (see p. 74). Peter II offered aid to Jelačić, Ban of Croatia, who, however, did not wish to accept outside help in a civil war with the Hungarians. Peter II died in 1851—the last of the vladikas.

The reign of Danilo II, 1851-60. The reign of Danilo II was marked by a radical change in the ancient constitution of the country

a change which perhaps was inevitable sooner or later. He wished to marry, but the custom which compelled the ruler to be consecrated as bishop would not allow this. He therefore proposed to separate the civil and ecclesiastical offices of his predecessor. In 1852 he assumed the title of 'gospodar' or prince of Crna Gora and of the Brda; the succession was declared to be hereditary in the male line; while the office of bishop was to be held by a member of the Montenegrin aristocracy. Despite these startling changes, and indeed partly because of them, Danilo II was able to continue the work of his predecessor in consolidating the state. In 1855, a new legal code was introduced, providing for civil and religious liberty, and aiming at putting down brigandage. Both in its administration and in its civilization, Montenegro was assuming a more 'western' character.

Parallel with these changes at home, there were various foreign complications. The new constitution of 1852 had been introduced with the approval of both Austria and Russia, but Turkey objected and revived its claim to the suzerainty of the province. In the war that followed, the Turks, after many reverses, were compelled by diplomatic pressure from Austria and Russia to cease fighting. The Austrian delegate, at the peace negotiations of March 1853, made special reference to the Turkish acknowledgement of 1799 that Montenegro was in no sense a vassal state. Thus Austria championed the little state that, within a generation, was to regard her as a deadly foe.

When the Crimean War broke out between Turkey and Russia in October 1853, the latter expected support from Montenegro, but Danilo II refrained from war on the advice of Austria. This peaceful policy produced great discontent which culminated in revolt; the people of the Brda region declared themselves an independent state, and were induced to submit only after civil war. At the Treaty of Paris which ended the Crimean War in 1856, the Russian delegates, under pressure from Austria, disclaimed any special interest in Montenegro beyond that of 'friendly disposition'. Turkey seized the opportunity, however, to state that it regarded Montenegro as 'an integral part of the Ottoman Empire', but it was careful to add that it 'had no intention of altering the existing state of affairs'. The Turkish claim was at once denied by Danilo II in a memorandum addressed to the Powers. He pointed out that 'for 466 years the Montenegrin people had never been subjected to any Power' (i.e. since the battle of Kosovo), and that 'for four and a half centuries it had waged continual warfare with Turkey'. The memorandum,

moreover, claimed: (1) the official recognition of Montenegrin independence; (2) an extension of frontiers towards Albania and Hercegovina; (3) proper delimitation of the Turco-Montenegrin frontier; (4) the annexation of Antivari (Bar), in order to provide an outlet to the sea. But nothing came of these demands, despite a Turkish offer of increased territory in return for a recognition of Turkish sovereignty.

In the years that followed, Danilo was anxious to maintain peaceful relations with Turkey, but it was a desire that his subjects did not share. Frontier incidents in 1858 led to war, which was marked by a brilliant Montenegrin victory at Grahovo. It was hailed as the 'Marathon of Montenegro', and was followed by the appointment of an international commission to delimit the Turco-Montenegrin frontier. As a result, the district around Grahovo was added to the principality.

Danilo II died in 1860 after being shot by a Montenegrin rebel whom he had exiled. He left only a daughter, and the throne passed to his nephew Nicholas.

The reign of Nicholas I up to 1914

Territorial Expansion, 1860-80. Nicholas was only nineteen years old when he began his long reign (1860-1918). In 1861, the neighbouring Hercegovinians rose against the Turks (see p. 54); and, though the Montenegrin government carefully kept out of the war on the advice of the Powers, individual Montenegrins crossed the frontier to take part in the struggle of their fellow-Slavs. Seizing this pretext, Turkey declared war on Montenegro early in 1862, and advanced from Nikšić and Spuž into the short neck of territory (barely twelve miles wide) that connected Crna Gora and the Brda. Despite fierce resistance, the Montenegrins were defeated, though the subsequent Convention of Scutari acknowledged the frontier of 1859, and allowed the Montenegrins free trade through the port of Antivari (31 August 1862). During the fourteen years that followed, Montenegro was at peace, and at one time almost succeeded by negotiation in gaining a direct outlet on to the Adriatic at Novasella near Spizza (1866), but this was vetoed by England and France because it would have meant an increase of Russian influence in the Mediterranean.

In October 1874, the murder of twenty-two Montenegrins by the Turks at Podgorica nearly started war again, but the crisis was smoothed over by the Great Powers. In the following year, however,

the revolt of Bosnia and Hercegovina soon started a train of events that could not be smoothed out (see p. 54). The revolt aroused very great sympathy among the Montenegrins, and, in July 1876, Nicholas, in concert with Prince Milan of Serbia, declared war on Turkey. Within a few months, Montenegrin victories at Danilov Grad, Medun and elsewhere brought an armistice (November); but, in April 1877, Russia declared war on Turkey, and the Montenegrins reopened hostilities. It was a year of great victories, and the Turkish attempt again to separate Crna Gora and the Brda was defeated. Nikšić and Bileća (Bilek) in Hercegovina were taken, and, on the Albanian side, Dulcigno (Ulcinj), Antivari and the territory south of Lake Scutari were occupied; the seaboard was at last in Montenegrin hands.

The Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878) allowed Montenegro to retain her recent conquests, and the state was roughly trebled in area (Fig. 27); the independent status of the county was, moreover, once more formally recognized by the Turks. But the fate of Montenegro was bound up with the wider policies of the Great Powers in Europe, and the Treaty of Berlin a few months later (13 July 1878), while affirming her independence, reduced her area from 5,272 to 3,680 square miles. In particular, Dulcigno (Ulcinj) was restored to Turkey and Spizza ceded to Austrian Dalmatia. Antivari (Bar) was still left to provide an outlet to the Adriatic, but, in order to prevent this port from becoming a possible Russian base, the treaty provided that Montenegrin waters should 'remain closed to the ships of war of all nations'; that Montenegro should have no fleet; and that the maritime policing of the coast should be undertaken by Austria-Hungary. The Montenegrin frontier on the Albanian side remained in dispute for some time owing to the lawless independence of the local tribes; and, after much negotiation, Montenegro, in 1880, gave up the districts of Gusinje and Plav in return for Ulcinj, together with the strip of coast as far as the river Bojana—thus making altogether a seaboard of some thirty miles (Fig. 15). But even after this, the frontiers still remained in dispute at some points, partly owing to the restless border tribes; there were further rectifications, and, as late as 1911, there were still some undefined areas along the frontier.

Peaceful Development, 1880–1912. As a result of the struggle with the Turk, the tradition of fighting in Montenegro went back for five centuries or so, and it was no easy task to change this Homeric society of mountain chieftains into an organized nineteenth-century state.

Despite occasional border unrest, however, the thirty years following 1880 were marked by considerable economic, social and political developments. Motor roads were built, and, in 1908, a railway between Antivari and Lake Scutari was opened; a bank was founded;

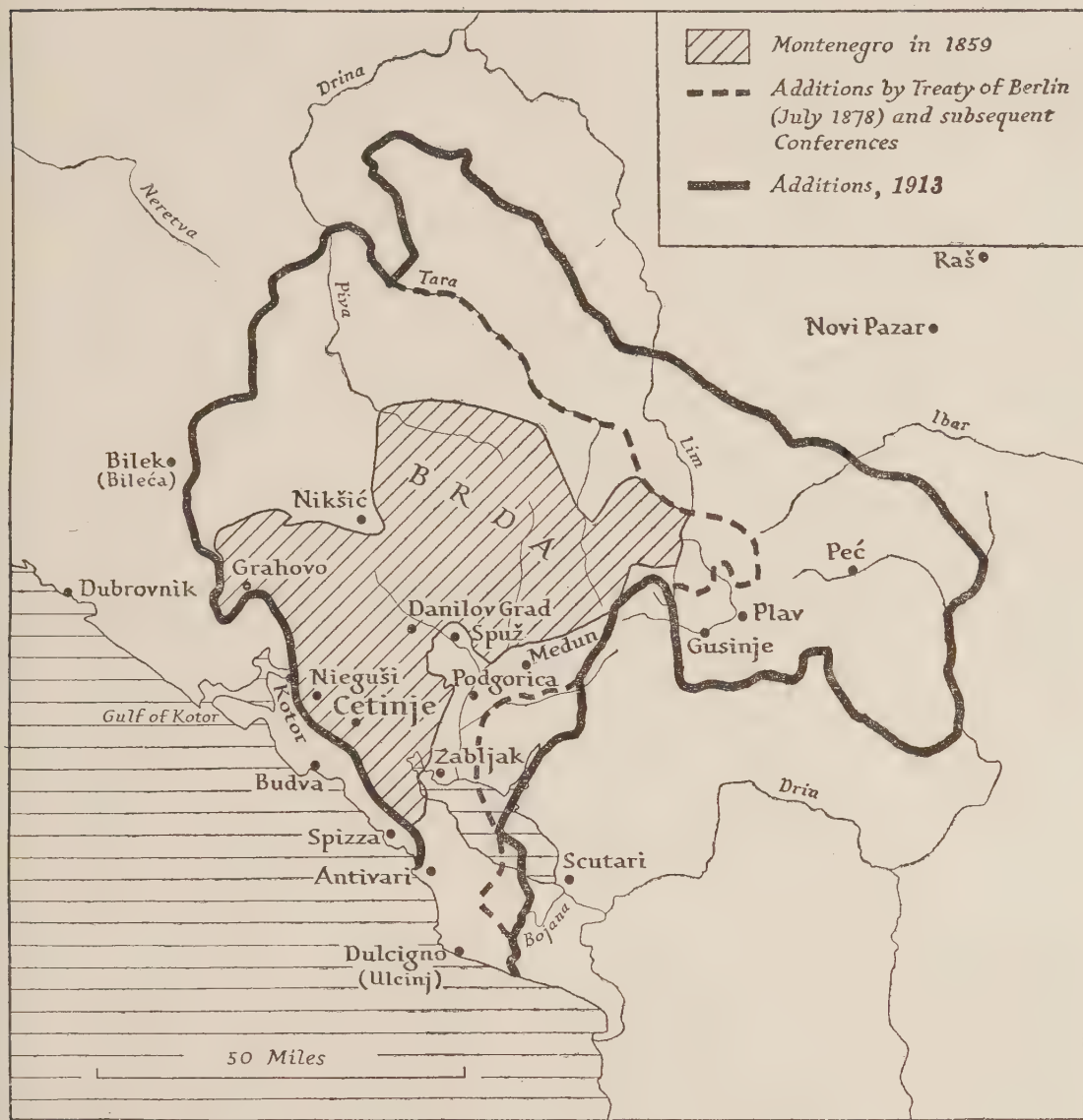


Fig. 15. The growth of Montenegro

Based on (i) E. Hertslet, *The Map of Europe by Treaty*, vol. IV, p. 2782 (H.M.S.O., London, 1891); (ii) *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XXIII, p. 744 (Milano, 1934). For the complicated frontier changes between 1878–87, see E. Hertslet, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, maps opposite pp. 2674, 2782, 2956, 3018 and 3140.

agriculture (particularly the cultivation of vines and tobacco) was improved, and an agricultural college was opened at Podgorica. By 1910, there were twenty-one post offices, and before the outbreak of war in 1914 the number had been trebled; and this may be taken as symptomatic of the accelerated progress of the country in general. As might be expected in a country where capital was scarce, much

of this development was in the hands of foreigners, particularly Italians, and there was a cry of 'Montenegro for the Montenegrins'. It must be added, however, that all this improvement did not prevent the occasional recurrence of famine and the continual emigration of younger men to Serbia, to the U.S.A. and elsewhere.

Parallel with economic development, there was considerable social and intellectual progress, and a public library, a theatre and a museum were opened in Cetinje. In 1893, the four-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the printing press at Obod was celebrated amidst many representatives from foreign universities. Theoretically, at any rate, primary education was compulsory and by 1906 there were 112 primary schools with 150 teachers and 9,756 pupils; there were also secondary schools at Cetinje and Podgorica. Higher education, however, had to be sought abroad, usually at the University of Belgrade, and this Serbian link was not without important political effects, for the younger generation came back with new ideas of democracy that soon clashed with the autocracy of their ruler.

In the third place, there were important political developments. The old legal code of 1855 was revised in 1888; and, to the surprise of Europe, parliamentary institutions were introduced in 1905, and the first Montenegrin parliament met on 19 December. It consisted of 14 *ex officio* members, and 62 elected by manhood suffrage. The experiment, however, was not an unqualified success. Party feeling ran high, and cabinet crises were frequent. There were complaints, too, that the dominant personality of Nicholas was autocratic. The international status of the country had been improved by the marriage of one of the daughters of Nicholas to the heir to the Italian throne; another of his children married the exiled Peter Karageorgević, who was later to become king of Serbia, while four married into German and Russian royal families; indeed, Nicholas was described as 'the father-in-law of Europe'. In 1898 he visited Queen Victoria at Windsor; in 1900 he assumed the style of 'Royal Highness', and, finally in 1910, he took the title of king.

In the meantime, the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina by Austria in 1908 had aroused antagonism in Montenegro, but Montenegrin acquiescence was purchased in the following year by the removal of the Austrian restrictions upon Antivari and the rest of the Montenegrin coastline.

The Balkan Wars, 1912-13. The generation of peace since 1878 was soon to be shattered by the wider complications of the Eastern Question. In 1912, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria

challenged Turkey, just weakened by the Italian war and the loss of Tripoli (see p. 113). On 8 October, Montenegro, claiming a rectification of her frontier, declared war on the Turks, and was joined by her allies. Plav and Gusinje, which had been yielded up in 1880, were occupied; so was Peć, and, after a long siege, Scutari itself (the old residence of the Balšas) surrendered. The Great Powers, particularly Austria and Italy, were averse from seeing too great a Slav frontage on the Adriatic, and they intended that Scutari should form part of a new Albanian state; it had therefore to be evacuated by the Montenegrins. The Treaty of London (30 May 1913) ceded all Turkish territory west of the Enos-Midia line to the Balkan allies, with the exception of Albania; the division of the spoil and the details of the frontiers were left to be adjusted. In the Second Balkan War, caused by the failure of the allies to agree about the division, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro together with Roumania defeated the Bulgarians. The subsequent adjustment of frontiers gave Montenegro a considerable increase of territory, for the sanjak of Novi Pazar was partitioned between Serbia and Montenegro (Fig. 31). The area of the enlarged state amounted to about 6,250 sq. miles; its population was variously estimated, and probably numbered something under half a million. The greater part of this population was Serb in speech and Orthodox in religion, but it included about 25,000 Roman Catholics and about 105,000 Moslems; the latter were mostly Albanians, and some 80,000 of them lived in the new territory added in 1913 (Fig. 45).

The partition of the sanjak of Novi Pazar had at last brought the two Serb peoples of Montenegro and Serbia into territorial contact; and, early in 1914, proposals for uniting the two countries were discussed. This would have involved a customs union, a fusion of the two armies and a joint foreign policy, but the two states would have retained their separate dynasties. Austria objected to the proposal, but despite this, and despite personal differences between Nicholas and the king of Serbia, the movement for union between the two peoples was rapidly growing when the war of 1914 broke out.

THE VOJVODINA

The Serb settlement to 1700

The Serbian word 'Vojvodina' means a duchy, and is the name commonly given to the lands of the southern part of the old kingdom of Hungary where Serbs had settled in large numbers. It is not an ancient historic unit like Bosnia or Croatia, but includes the three districts of Baranja, Bačka and Banat. All three areas formed an integral part of Hungary from the early days of the Magyar settlement in the tenth century up to the Turkish occupation in the decades following the battle of Mohacz (1526).

After the battle of Kosovo in 1389, bands of Serb refugees fled before the Turks northward across the Danube. In this northern region, too, the Serbian despots in the fifteenth century held tracts of lands under the Hungarian kings, and they encouraged Serb settlers. With the complete fall of Serbia in 1459, still more Serb immigrants arrived from the south. In 1483, Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, wrote to the Pope that 200,000 Serbs had settled in the south of his kingdom in four years; and, in 1538 Cardinal Martinuzzi stated that Serbs formed half the population of Hungary. However doubtful these figures may be, it seems fairly clear that by the sixteenth century there was a very considerable Serb population in the area. These Serbs played a great part in the defence of Hungary against the Turks.

After the Turkish conquest of Hungary (c. 1540), the whole Magyar population of South Hungary seems to have disappeared almost completely—some may have migrated, some may have been exterminated. The scanty population that remained under Turkish rule was largely Serb, with a Roumanian element in the east. The Slav element was increased during the Turkish occupation by further immigration, although there were occasional Serb revolts against the Turk (e.g. in 1594-5). Among the immigrants were the interesting and obscure groups of the Šokci (in the Baranja) and the Bunjevci (around Subotica). They appear to have originated from the borders of Bosnia and Dalmatia, and, according to some authorities, were led into Hungary by Franciscan friars about the year 1682.

After the repulse of the Turks from Vienna in 1683, the Austrian armies advanced rapidly for a time; they crossed the Danube, and even reached Skoplje (1689), but they were soon forced to retreat.

The Serbs south of the Danube, who had risen in support of the Austrians, were now left at the mercy of Turkish reprisals; and, after some confused negotiation, Patriarch Arsen of Peć organized a great Serbian exodus (see p. 96). Some 30,000–40,000 families left the area around Peć, Prizren and northern Macedonia, to settle in south Hungary, in Bačka and elsewhere (1691). The emperor, Leopold I, promised them complete religious freedom and the right to elect their own *vojvoda* (i.e. civil governor), but the exact terms of the agreement are somewhat obscure. If Serbia were conquered from the Turk, they were to be settled back in their own homes. But the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) put an end to any hope of their return; by this treaty, the emperor formally acquired Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia, but Serbia itself remained under Ottoman control.

In the years that followed, the imperial attitude to the Serb settlers changed. Their charter, it is true, was confirmed by successive emperors, but no *vojvoda* was granted. Much of their land was detached from the administration of Hungary, and formed into additional 'Military Frontier' districts under the direct control of the emperor. Moreover, an attempt was made to wean them from the Orthodox faith by promoting the Uniate creed (i.e. Orthodox in rites but Roman in communion), and some Serbs became Uniates. In the districts that remained under Hungarian administration, the Magyar clergy were able to convert some Serbs completely to the Roman faith.

Eighteenth-century colonization

After the Austro-Turkish war of 1715–18, Austria gained the Banat of Temesvar,* together with Wallachia and a strip of territory south of the Sava-Danube line; some of these gains had to be returned to the Turks in 1739, but the Banat was retained (Fig. 7). There was some further immigration into the area from the south during these years, but Austro-Hungarian rule became so oppressive that many Serbs actually migrated back to their old homes to the south.

But Austrian and Hungarian interests were not identical. The emperor gave only a small portion (one county in the north) of the Banat to Hungary; the rest he retained under his own control. The

* The province of Temesvar now received the title of 'Banat', but this was really incorrect, since neither then nor at any other time was it under the government of a Ban. The term 'banat' in Magyar usually meant a frontier province governed by a Ban (cf. the German 'mark'). There were several 'banats' in Hungary, but these disappeared during the Turkish Wars, and the word when used alone usually indicates the Banat of Temesvar.

Turks had left an uncultivated and depopulated country, and during the rest of the century this area became the scene of a most elaborate scheme of colonization. Low-lying land was drained, roads and bridges were built; and settlers were attracted to the area. Magyars, it is true, were forbidden to enter the Banat, but anyone else who cared to come was welcomed. The new settlers were mainly German from the Rhineland and elsewhere, together with Serbs; but a variety of nationalities was represented—Frenchmen from Alsace-Lorraine Catalans, Italians, Bulgars, Armenians, Cossacks and an indeterminate people called Krassovans.* There were also some Roumanians, but they were not made very welcome, and were forbidden to settle in some portions of the plain. They remained restricted largely to the eastern highlands.

Bačka and Baranja were now mainly under Hungarian control, but, as the crown (i.e. the emperor) was the largest landowner, these areas were colonized along ethnic lines very similar to those of the Banat; and the newcomers were largely Germans and Serbs, although there was a greater percentage of Magyars among them, and although some Ruthenian and Slovak colonists were also brought in.

During the reign of Maria Theresa (1740–80), Austrian policy was directed towards conciliating the Magyars, but, in response to representations from the Serb ecclesiastical authorities, an 'Illyrian Court Deputation' or Commission was set up in 1747 to protect Serb interests. This immediately came into conflict with the Hungarian authorities, and conditions became such that many Serbs emigrated to Russia where they settled along the Dnieper below Kiev and became absorbed in the surrounding Orthodox population (1750–56). About this time, too, various parts of the 'Military Frontier' were restored to Hungarian administration; the 'Court Deputation' was abolished in 1777, and in 1779 the whole Banat itself was restored to Hungary, except for a small strip along the south which remained as part of the 'Military Frontier'. Some Magyar immigration into the Banat then followed, but by this time the country had already been settled with non-Magyar peoples.

Under the succeeding emperors, Joseph II (1780–90) and Leopold II (1790–92), there was a considerable amount of contradictory legislation about the Serbs. On the one hand, the Hapsburg emperors, wishing to arouse the Serbs south of the Danube against the Turks and to partition the Ottoman empire with Russia (see p. 98), were anxious to adopt a conciliatory policy towards Serbs in

* They are held by some to be transitional between Serb and Bulgar.

general; and in 1781 an Edict of Toleration confirmed the religious rights of the Serbs of the Vojvodina. During the Austro-Turkish war of 1787-91, the Serbs both of the Vojvodina and of Turkey rose in support of Austria. The Hapsburg emperors, too, were anxious to preserve a counterpoise to Hungarian influence, and the Serbs usually regarded the crown as their protector against Hungary. On the other hand, Hungary pressed its claims. It is true that in 1790 the 'Illyrian Court Deputation' was re-established, but it was abolished in the following year, and the administration of all Serb affairs was handed to the Hungarian government. But while the Serbs, apart from those of the 'Military Frontier', now became ordinary subjects of Hungary, they kept their religious independence, their churches and their schools.

The eighteenth century saw the development of a flourishing Serb culture in the Vojvodina. Towns such as Novi Sad, Sombor, Pančevo and Zemun remained largely Serb. A great part of the trade of South Hungary was in Serb hands, and the Serb middle class was relatively large. The Serbs of the Vojvodina, as compared with those of the south, gained, too, from the wider contacts of the Hapsburg empire. The first Serbian literary society was founded in Budapest, and the Vojvodina was a far more important centre of Serb culture than Serbia itself. The result was that the new principality of Serbia, after 1817, drew most of its officials and many of its clergy from the south Hungarian lands. Dositej Obradović, the founder of Serbia's educational system, was himself a Hungarian Serb (see p. 103); so was Jovanović, the poet. These northern Serbs also supported the cause of free Serbia against the Turks with money, men and arms; and, in the nineteenth century, they played a great part both in the war of liberation and in the rehabilitation of the new autonomous Serbia to the south. 'It is no exaggeration to say that the Serbians of Serbia were saved from despair by the Serbians of Montenegro and from ignorance by the Serbians of South Hungary'.*

Magyar and Serb national feeling in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

With the rising tide of national feeling in Europe during the nineteenth century, Magyar policy towards the Serbs took a more forcible form; pressure was brought to bear to stamp out the rising Serb national feeling in Hungary, and, in particular, to enforce the use of the Magyar language for official purposes. Paradoxically

* H. W. V. Temperley, *History of Serbia*, p. 122 (London, 1919).

enough, the Magyars themselves were asking the Austrian emperor for the same kind of complete self-government and privileges that they were denying to the Serbs and Croats within their borders. A deputation of Hungarian Serbs who waited on Kossuth in April 1848 demanded autonomy and the recognition of their rights as a nation, together with the official use of the Serbian language. Their demand received no sympathy, and they were dismissed with the famous words 'the sword will decide'. A few months later, in the same year of 1848, 'the year of revolutions' in Europe, the storm broke and the Magyars rose in open revolt against the Austrian emperor. In the bitter racial war that followed, the Serbs of South Hungary, like the Croats to the west, took the part of Austria, and the Croat Ban was joined by many Serbs (see p. 25). Serbia itself did not enter the war, but many individual Serbians gave much help (see p. 106). By the middle of 1849, the Magyar revolt had been overcome.

The Serbs of South Hungary now looked for their reward. The emperor acknowledged their help by separating Bačka and the Banat from Hungary, and uniting them, together with part of Syrmia (between the Sava and the Danube) into an autonomous Serb Vojvodina with its seat at Temesvar, thus recalling the privileges promised by Leopold I in 1691. But the new arrangement proved to be far from satisfactory. The Vojvodina included a large number of Roumanians in the eastern Banat, while it excluded eastern Slavonia which was partly Serb. Moreover, it was governed from Vienna by German officials; and so, in 1860, with the consent of the Serbs themselves, the Vojvodina was reincorporated into Hungary with the exception of the 'Military Frontier District' and of that part of Syrmia which in 1868 was attached to Croatia. The *Ausgleich* between Austria and Hungary in 1867 meant the complete abandoning of the Hungarian Serbs to Hungary (see p. 26). The Serbs asked in vain for the restoration of their former privileges and for an autonomous Vojvodina. In 1873, the 'Military Frontier' itself was abolished, and the Magyars now entered fully into their historic kingdom. To the west, the 'Military Frontier' of Croatia did not finally come to an end until 1881, when the old frontier organization completely disappeared (see p. 18).

In the years that followed, the Serbs of South Hungary steadily lost ground despite a national revival led by some priests. The Magyar speech spread as some Serbs succumbed and as the Magyar peasantry from the rest of Hungary settled here with government assistance. A new epoch of colonization opened; low-lying lands

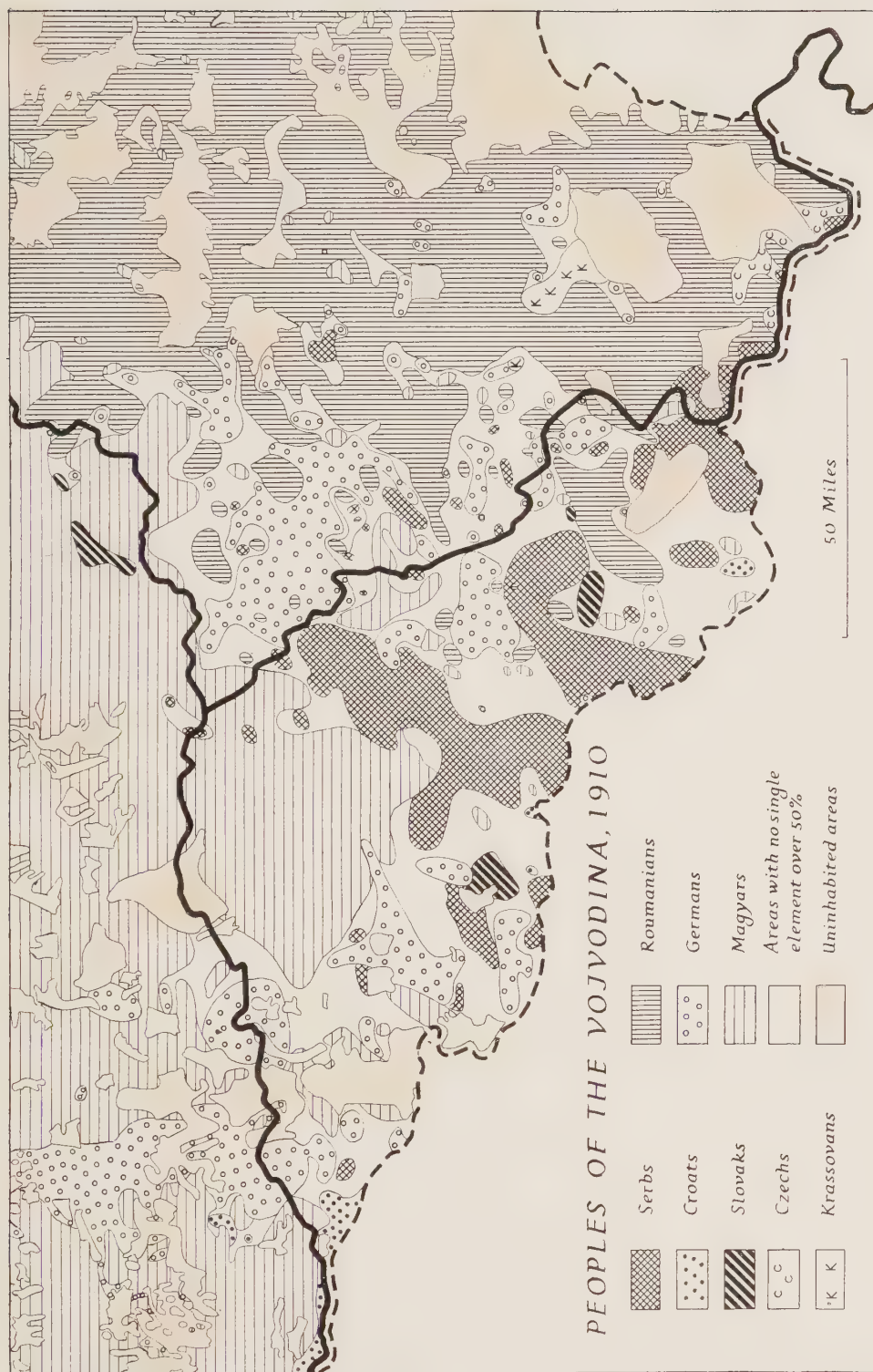


Fig. 16. A British interpretation of the ethnography of the Vojvodina, 1910

Based on the map in *The Peoples of Austria-Hungary*, vol. 1, *Hungary* (N.I.D., London, 1919). The pecked line is the boundary of the old kingdom of Hungary; the solid black lines represent the frontiers of 1941. The original is on a scale of 1 : 700,000, and was compiled from the Hungarian census of 1910; it makes an attempt to correct the impression given by most ethnographical maps by showing uninhabited areas—see the legend to Fig. 17.

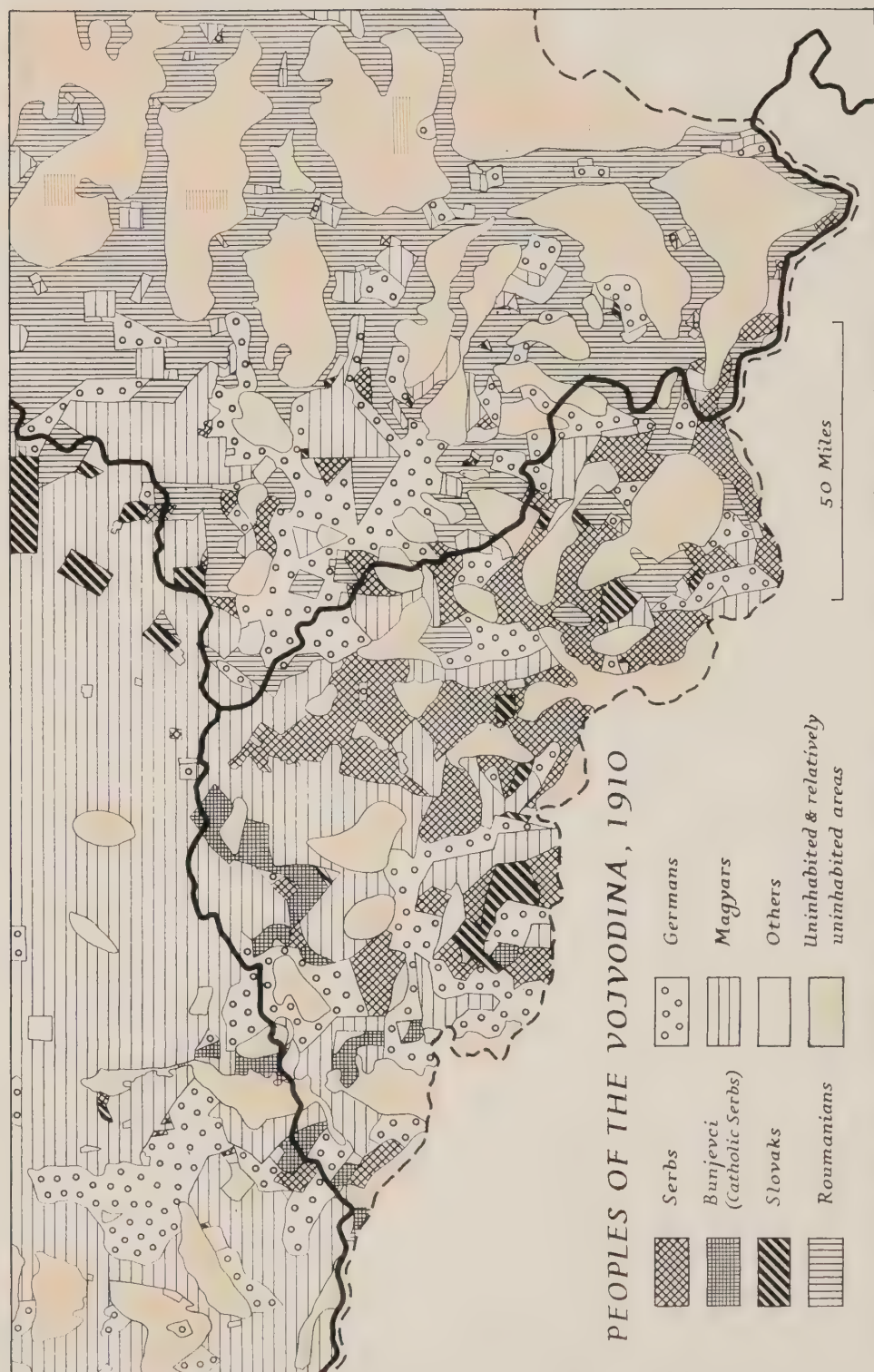


Fig. 17. A Hungarian interpretation of the ethnography of the Vojvodina, 1910

Based on the folding map that accompanies Count Paul Teleki's *The Evolution of Hungary and its place in European History* (Williamstown, 1923). The folder is also included in C. A. Macartney, *Hungary and her Successors* (Oxford, 1937). It is based on the Hungarian census of 1910. The pecked line is the boundary of the old kingdom of Hungary; the solid black lines represent the frontiers of 1941, Count Teleki points out that 'nearly all the ethnographical maps hitherto published have ignored the element of density of population'. He therefore tried to produce a map on a scale of 1 : 1,000,000 that combined 'the quantity, density and nationality of the population by the following method: in each region I have coloured as many square millimetres as there are hundreds of inhabitants in the respective region. No part occupied by settlements of some size remains uncoloured. Scattered population is represented too, though concentrated in the respective township centre (or in the valleys). So it is the simplest matter to measure and calculate by the map both the quantity of inhabitants and the various nationalities. The first impression conveyed to the reader by the map is true, the space covered by each colour corresponding exactly to the numerical strength of each nationality.'

were drained and made available for cultivation; new roads and railways were built. Magyar officials, railway employees and industrial workers also helped to diminish the proportions of Serbs, Germans and others. Thus between 1880-90, the increase of Magyar-speakers in Bačka (as given in the official statistics) amounted

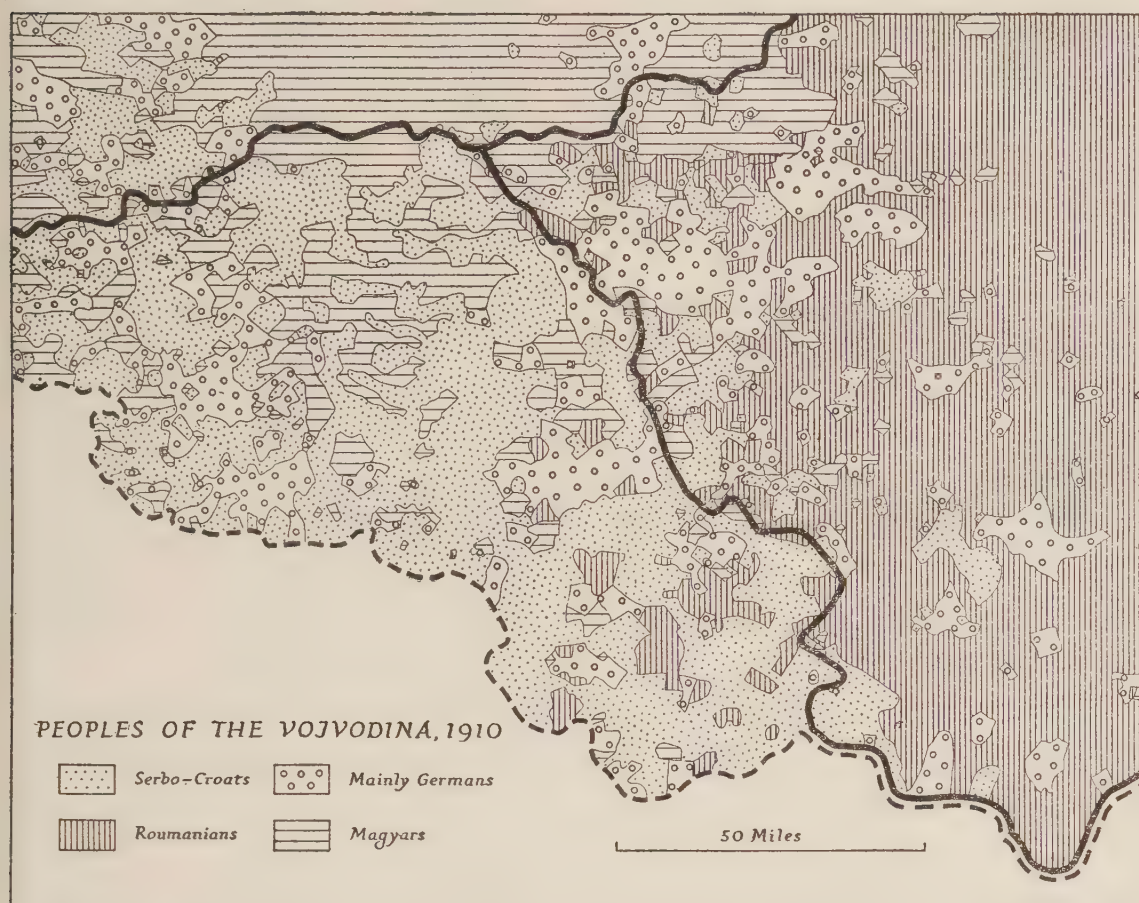


Fig. 18. A Serbian interpretation of the ethnography of the Vojvodina, 1910

Based on (i) J. Cvijić, 'Carte ethnographique des régions septentrionales Yougo-slaves', 1 : 1,000,000 (1919) as drawn in I. Bowman, *The New World*, p. 360 (4th ed., New York, 1928); (ii) the folding map in J. Cvijić, J. Radonić, S. Stanojević, and H. Zeremsky, *Le Banat* (Paris, 1919). The map is based on the Hungarian Census of 1910. The pecked line is the boundary of the old kingdom of Hungary; the solid black lines represent the frontiers before the changes of 1941.

to 22%, while, between 1900-1910, the corresponding figure was 10%, and for the Banat 16%. Moreover, the rapid economic development of the region in the latter part of the nineteenth century focused its interests upon Budapest and Vienna, and communications were deliberately developed with this aim in mind. No bridge crossed the Danube below Novi Sad, and only a railway bridge crossed the Sava to Belgrade. By the end of the century, many Serbians in Belgrade even felt that the 'northern march' of Serbia beyond the Danube was destined to be finally lost.

Peoples of the Vojvodina

The sources for this table are (1) the Hungarian Census of 1910; (2) the Yugoslav Census of 1921 in which Serbs, Croats, Bunjevci and Šokci are collectively classified as Serbo-Croat; (3) an estimate for 1931, based partly on ecclesiastical figures, as no linguistic statistics were given in the Yugoslav Census of 1931; (4) the Hungarian Census of 1942 for Baranja and Bačka together with an English estimate for the Banat.

<i>Baranja</i> (446 sq. miles)	1910	1921	1931	1942
Serbs	6,060	15,604	10,864	5,600
Croats	1,853		2,000	2,000
Bunjevci and Šokci	8,068		8,000	8,000
Slovenes	—	143	200	—
Magyars	20,134	16,638	15,500	21,000
Germans	13,908	16,253	15,300	14,000
Roumanians	450	452	450	500
Slovaks, Ruthenes and other Slavs	200	224	200	400
Others	124	138	332	500
	50,797	49,452	52,846	52,000
<i>Bačka</i> (3,184 sq. miles)				
Serbs	143,812	246,598	192,000	154,000
Croats	1,206		10,000	3,000
Bunjevci and Šokci	54,836		60,000	53,000
Slovenes	—	4,850	5,000	1,000
Magyars	291,433	260,998	275,000	358,000
Germans	161,627	173,796	178,000	161,500
Roumanians	356	1,181	1,500	1,500
Slovaks	30,049	30,993	32,000	33,000
Ruthenes	10,754	10,999	12,000	13,000
Other Slavs	—	3,226	3,500	3,000
Others	3,028	2,476	8,411	4,000
	697,101	735,117	777,411*	785,000
<i>Banat</i> (3,878 sq. miles)				
Serbs	232,000	240,213	259,000	245,000
Croats	3,500		4,000	4,000
Slovenes	—		2,500	2,000
Magyars	110,000	98,471	95,000	93,000
Germans	125,500	126,530	124,000	140,000
Roumanians	75,000	67,897	70,000	74,000
Slovaks, Ruthenes and other Slavs	17,000	19,992	23,500	25,000
Others	9,000	6,743	7,549	8,000
	572,000	561,958	585,549†	591,000
<i>Totals for the Vojvodina</i> (7,508 sq. miles)				
Serbs	381,872	502,415	461,864	404,600
Croats	6,559		16,000	9,000
Bunjevci and Šokci	62,904		68,000	61,000
Slovenes	—	7,105	7,700	3,000
Magyars	421,567	376,107	385,500	472,000
Germans	301,035	316,579	317,300	315,500
Roumanians	75,806	69,530	71,950	76,000
Slovaks, Ruthenes and other Slavs	58,003	65,434	71,200	74,400
Others	12,152	9,357	16,292	12,500
	1,319,898	1,346,527	1,415,806	1,428,000

* After deducting 7,485 for Petrovaradin, which in 1931 was counted in Bačka.

† After adding 22,089 for Pančevo town which in 1931 was counted in Belgrade.

But the Serbs, supported by their Church, their schools and their various cultural organizations, remained strongly entrenched, especially in the south; the Roumanians were likewise predominant towards the east; while the German element, too, although more easily Magyarized, continued to form a prominent feature on the map. The linguistic mosaic reached a degree of intricacy that was nowhere equalled in Europe (Figs 16-18). The Cossacks, it is true, had died out; the Italian and Catalans had either disappeared or been absorbed. Descendants of the French settlers were now only distinguished by their surnames, by a few dialect peculiarities and by other minor differences (e.g. in domestic architecture). But, despite these disappearances, the Serbs, the Germans and the Roumanians remained intermingled with Magyars in a most bewildering fashion. Groups of Ruthenians and some vigorous communities of Protestant Slovaks also remained to complicate the scene (see table on p. 76).

There were two main political parties in the area—the Liberals and the Radicals. The former were in favour of good relations with Hungary provided that educational, ecclesiastical and linguistic freedom was allowed. The Radicals were in close touch with the Serbian Radical party, and were more nationalist in outlook than the Liberals. Especially after the changes of 1903 they began to turn more and more to Belgrade, and the Serbian success in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 aroused great enthusiasm among them, and indeed among all the Serbs of Hungary.

SERBIA

- I Medieval Serbia
- II The Turkish Period, 1459-1804
- III Modern Serbia, 1804-1914

MEDIEVAL SERBIA

The main fact about medieval Serbia is that the Nemanjid dynasty, from the twelfth century onwards, succeeded in building a substantial state out of the somewhat unorganized Slav communities of the Balkan peninsula. The Nemanjid effort culminated in the great empire of Stephen Dušan (1331-55), which, however, broke up almost immediately after his death.

But Dušan's achievement became more than a historical memory. It was to constitute a political programme for those Serbs who, early in the nineteenth century, were liberated from over five centuries of Turkish rule. Nineteenth-century British statesmen did not use the affairs of Plantagenet England as an argument in forming their policy, but the memory of Dušan's empire, kept alive by folk-tales and ballads (see p. 103), was an important factor in the 'Eastern Question' and the 'Macedonian Problem'. The aspirations of modern Serbs cannot therefore be appreciated without some knowledge of their medieval history.

Zeta and Raška to 1168

The Serbs arrived in the Balkan peninsula during the early part of the seventh century A.D. According to one account, the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610-41) granted them the territory later known as 'Serblia', but this may only have been a gift of what they had already taken, and Heraclius probably but confirmed them in possession of their territory in return for a formal recognition of his suzerainty. For five centuries after their arrival, the history of the Serbs is that of struggles between their various clans, each under a chieftain or *župan*. Sometimes, a more powerful *župan* would absorb his weaker neighbours and take the title of 'grand *župan*' (*veliki župan*), but such unions were followed by disruption and regrouping, and the whole period was turbulent and confused.

The internal confusion and lack of cohesion was increased by foreign influences. Just as in the north and west, Hungary and Venice disputed with the Byzantine empire and complicated the life of Croatia and Dalmatia, so in the south the struggle between the Bulgarian state and the Byzantine empire complicated the life of what was to become Serbia and Montenegro. The arrival of the Bulgars in the Balkan peninsula after the middle of the seventh century created a state that soon threatened the easternmost of the Serb *županates*. From the eighth to the twelfth centuries, almost all the southern Serb area was usually under the suzerainty either of Bulgarian or Byzantine rulers (Fig. 19).

About A.D. 850, the Bulgarian danger seems to have led to a union of the southern Serbs under a certain Vlastimir, the nucleus of whose resistance was the upper valleys of the Tara, the Lim and the Ibar—a land of hardy mountaineers. The Serbs strengthened their hand by acknowledging the suzerainty of the Byzantine emperors, and Byzantine influence was extended by the work of the two great Slav

missionaries, Cyril and Methodius. Between 871–75, the Serbs were won, nominally at any rate, to Christianity, and henceforward shared in all the cultural, artistic and literary advantages that followed conversion. A new Slavonic alphabet, the so-called Cyrillic alphabet, was also a product of this missionary work. Thus, in the ninth century, was laid down the distinction between those Slavs who adopted the Latin or western alphabet, and those who adopted the Cyrillic alphabet. What is more, the interior of the Balkan peninsula was drawn into the orbit of the Eastern Church, while the Dalmatian coast and the north Balkan area were being attached to the western allegiance of Rome (Fig. 46). This distinction between Roman Catholic Slavs with a Latin alphabet (in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slovenia) and the Greek Orthodox Slavs with a Cyrillic alphabet (in Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia) was to become a permanent factor in all later Balkan politics up to the present day.

Towards the end of the ninth century, the growing power of the Bulgarians clashed violently with the Serb županates. The first Bulgarian empire under Simeon (893–927) was extended over the eastern Serb area which was devastated and depopulated. During the latter part of the tenth century, however, Simeon's successors lost much of the Bulgarian conquests, partly to the Byzantine empire and partly to the Serb župans who were acting in alliance with the emperor. Časlav (931–60), in particular, liberated a large stretch of Serb territory (Fig. 21). Under Samuel, the Bulgarian empire, now centred at Ohrid (c. 1015), was only half the size of that of his predecessor, and in 1018 the Bulgarian power was decisively overthrown by the Byzantines (Fig. 19).

The succeeding history of the south Serbs during the eleventh century is a story of civil war and bids for leadership among the various župans, and of complicated relations with the Byzantine empire—sometimes in alliance, sometimes in opposition, according to the exigencies of the moment. Generally speaking, there were two main political groups. The western group (including the modern Hercegovina and Montenegro) was known variously as Dioclea or Zeta, from two of its most important component parts. The eastern group was centred on the inland district around Raš near Novi Pazar and was known as Raška. To the north lay the territory of the more or less independent župans of what is now Bosnia.

The political confusion of the time was particularly marked in Raška, exposed to the Byzantine armies that moved northward along the Morava valley. In the more inaccessible west, a better organized



Fig. 19. The Balkan peninsula, A.D. 910–1265

Based on (i) E. A. Freeman, *Atlas to the Historical Geography of Europe*, maps 34–37 (London, 1903); (ii) W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 81 (London, 1908); (iii) W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 59, 67, 89 (4th ed., London, 1930). The area included in the Byzantine empire is stippled. C. Croatia; D. Durazzo; H. Hungary; R. Ragusa.

state seems to have emerged by the middle of the eleventh century. The various župans of Travunja, Hum and Zeta were united under Prince Vojislav (c. 1042). Here, as in Montenegro in later times, a wild independence was maintained at a time when Raška was under Byzantine control. Vojislav's son Michael was able to include Raška, and he received a crown from Pope Gregory VII (1077). Michael's son, Bodin (1081–1101), further enlarged the kingdom (Fig. 21), and we have a glimpse of Bodin from some members of the First Crusade who passed through Scutari. Soon after Bodin's

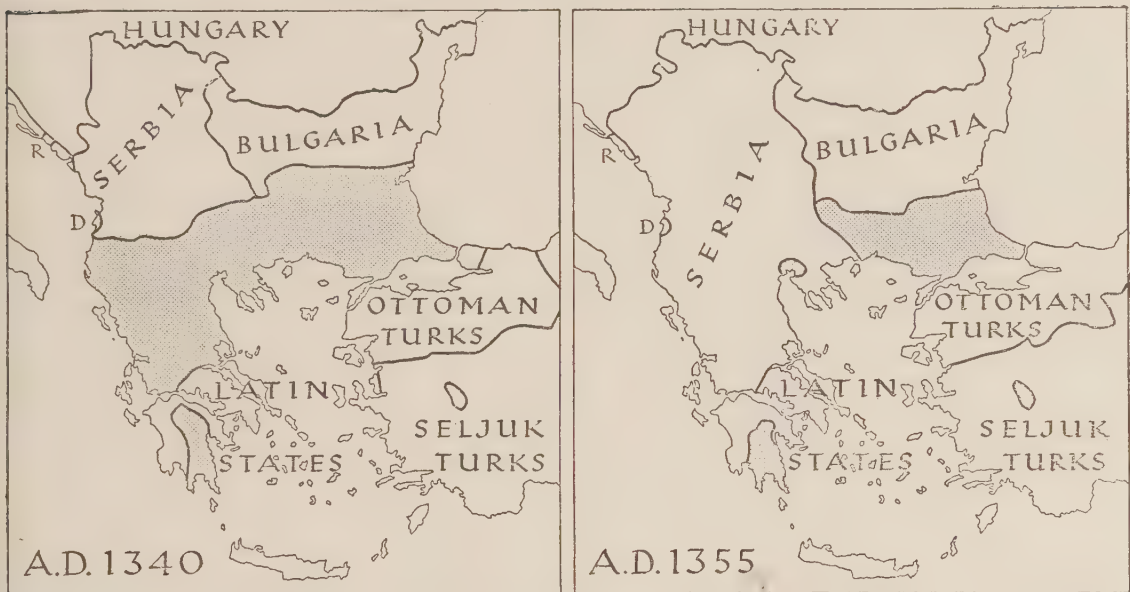


Fig. 20. The Balkan peninsula, A.D. 1340–55

Based on (i) E. A. Freeman, *Atlas to the Historical Geography of Europe*, maps 40 and 41 (London, 1903); (ii) W. R. Shephard, *Historical Atlas*, p. 89 (4th ed., London, 1930).

The area included in the Byzantine empire is stippled. D. Durazzo; R. Ragusa.

death, however, the kingdom broke up amid civil war, and, in the twelfth century, the main centre of political importance shifted to Raška. In 1169 a certain Stephen Nemanja became grand župan of Raška; and it was from Raška, under the Nemanja family, that the medieval empire of Serbia was built.

A picture of the Serbs at this time has been given by the chronicler William of Tyre who visited Bitolj (Monastir). They were, he says, 'an uncultured and undisciplined people, inhabiting the mountains and forests, and not practising agriculture, but possessed of much cattle great and small. . . . Sometimes their *jupani* obey the Emperor: at other times all the inhabitants quit their mountains and forests . . . to ravage the surrounding countries'.*

* Quoted in W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, p. 446 (Cambridge, 1921).

The early Nemanjids, 1169–1331

Stephen Nemanja became grand župan of Raška in 1169, and he founded a dynasty that ruled over Serbia for some 200 years. It was the destiny of this royal family to create the great medieval empire



Fig. 21. Serbia in the tenth and eleventh centuries

Based on S. Stanojević, *Istoriski Atlas*, plate 46 (3rd ed., Beograd, 1934). Before 1018, much of the area to the south of Serbia formed part of the Bulgarian empire—see Fig. 19. Trab. Travunja.

of Serbia; and the work of the early Nemanjids made possible the flowering of Serbian greatness under Stephen Dušan in the fourteenth century.

The death of the emperor Manuel in 1180 resulted in a disputed succession at Constantinople, and Stephen Nemanja was able to

shake off Byzantine suzerainty and to extend his territory. By 1186, he had united Zeta to Raška, and the cities of Scutari and Kotor (Cattaro), together with a stretch of the Adriatic coastline, were now within his grasp (Fig. 22). 'For the first time a real centre of unity and a real national ruler existed to educate, to govern, and to discipline the Serbians'.* He retired to a monastery in 1196, and from then until the accession of Stephen Dušan in 1331, seven rulers governed Serbia, and their work was marked by three new developments in Serbian history: (1) an attempt to secure internal stability, especially with the aid of the Church; (2) foreign expansion; and (3) considerable economic progress. Each of these must be considered separately.

Internal Consolidation. The state that Stephen Nemanja handed on to his successors was not easy to unify. The historic županates of this mountainous country were difficult to weld into one coherent whole, and provincial rebellions occurred in almost every reign. Stephen Nemanja's immediate successor, Stephen 'the First-Crowned', was able to strengthen his authority by obtaining the title of 'king' from Pope Honorius III in 1217. But, although at times the Serbian rulers negotiated with the Papacy (always anxious to extend its influence in Balkan lands), their destiny lay with the Eastern Church. The influence of that Church was enlisted in the task of organizing and civilizing the Nemanjid realm. The Bogomil heresy which obtained a strong foothold in the country during the twelfth century was vigorously suppressed. Latin influences, too, were put down; and religious dissensions no longer distracted Serbia in the way that they continued to distract Bosnia and Bulgaria.

The youngest son of Stephen Nemanja became a monk at Mt. Athos, and then, under the name of Sava, he became the first archbishop of an autocephalous Serbian Church (1219). Its early centre was at Žiča in the north, but, owing to Tartar raids across the Danube, it was later removed to Peć (Ipek). To all later generations, the name of St Sava was to stand for education and enlightenment. His ecclesiastical statesmanship had freed the Serbian lands from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ohrid (Ochrida), and had given the Serbians a national Church. Though the primacy of the Byzantine patriarch was not always respected, the cultural influence of the Eastern Church was always important in Serbian national life. The Nemanjids, moreover, encouraged the building of churches and monasteries, many of which can still be seen (see p. 295). Other

* H. W. V. Temperley, *History of Serbia*, pp. 39-40 (London, 1919).

memorials of the medieval Serbian Church are to be found in a considerable number of manuscripts—some are translations from Greek and Latin authors; others, though original, still show strong Byzantine influence (see p. 300). The political centralization of the early Nemanjid state may have been imperfect, but there can be no doubt about the growing vigour of its religious and cultural life.

Foreign Expansion. The decline of the Byzantine empire, towards the end of the twelfth century, gave opportunity not only for the Nemanjid state to throw off its nominal allegiance but for the rise of a second medieval Bulgarian empire which was powerful in Balkan lands during 1186–1258. For a time, the Bulgarians were able to extend westwards and to occupy Niš, Prizren, Skoplje and Ohrid, and they allied with Ragusa (Dubrovnik) against Serbia. In the meantime, the Byzantine empire had been all but destroyed by the soldiers of the Fourth Crusade (1204), but the recovery of much territory after 1261 brought the empire into renewed contact with Serbia (Fig. 19). And, despite civil war and internal complications, the Serbians were able to advance at the expense of the empire. Under Stephen Uroš II (1282–1321), they were able to occupy Skoplje, and to make it their capital. Dibra (Debar), too, was occupied, and the Serbian frontier was pushed to the coast near Durazzo. Stephen Uroš II was able to describe himself, not without foundation, as ‘king of Serbia, the land of Hum, Dioclea, Albania and the sea-coast’. His successor, Stephen Uroš III (1321–31), was able to seize the strong fortress of Prilep, and won a great victory at Kustendil in 1330 against the combined armies of Bulgaria and the Byzantine empire. After this outstanding defeat, the Bulgarians were never again a danger to the medieval Serbian state.

This victory against the Bulgars and Byzantines was not paralleled by similar success in the north. The Serbian attempts to extend their limits to the Sava-Danube line were never successful for long, and the Magyars usually remained in control of a considerable tract to the south of these rivers. Nor were the Nemanjid rulers able to include their kinsmen of Bosnia within their own realm; indeed the principality of Hum and the valley of the lower Neretva were lost to the Bosnians in 1325 (see p. 47).

Economic Development. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the economic awakening that was abroad over the whole of Europe began to be felt in Serbian lands. Agriculture was developed; cattle and pigs were important; and there was plenty of

cereals, hemp, flax, wine and oil; Serbian flour became famous. Amid the highlands of Raška, the fertile basins or *polja* of Kosovo along the upper Ibar, of Metohija along the upper Drim, of Tetovo along the upper Vardar and of Skoplje-Kumanovo in the region of the Vardar-Morava watershed, were all floored with rich soil, the relic of former lakes. Indeed, it seems likely that the population of some of these basins was greater in the fourteenth century than it is to-day. It is not surprising therefore that the capital of the growing Serbian state should have been moved from the older centre of Raš to Skoplje in a region at once more fertile and more in touch with the vital south-eastern frontier. The new religious capital, too, was at Peć in the Metohija region. Here, then, around the headwaters of the Ibar, the Vardar, the Drin and the Morava, was the 'metropolitan centre' of medieval Serbia.

An important economic development was that of mining. Copper, tin, silver, and gold, well-known in Roman times, began to be mined again with the help of German colonists from Hungary (known as Saxons), and of immigrants from Ragusa and Italy. The Kopaonik highland, east of the upper Ibar, was particularly important for its mining centres. Gold, silver and copper coins began to be minted by the Serbian rulers, and they provide an index of the economic advance of the state. It was this wealth that enabled the Serbian kings to hire mercenaries to fight against the armies of Bulgaria and the Byzantine empire.

In the midst of this material progress, Archbishop Adam (writing about 1330) tells us that the palaces of the king and his nobles were still of wood surrounded by palisades, and that the only stone houses were in coastal towns such as Cattaro (Kotor), Antivari (Bar) and Dulcigno (Ulcinj). There were even no walled and moated castles. The Byzantine envoys, who had come from the luxuries of Constantinople to the court of Stephen Uroš I (1243-76), were shocked to find the 'great king', as he was called, living in so modest a fashion.

But despite their low standard of living, and despite their frequent civil warfare, the early Nemanjid kings had been able to extend and consolidate their frontiers; and, moreover, they were in possession of considerable wealth. It was from these early Nemanjid foundations that Stephen Dušan was able to build the great medieval empire of Serbia.

Stephen Dušan, 1331-55

Stephen Dušan made a striking impression upon his contemporaries both by his ability and by his commanding presence, and his reign has always been regarded by later Serbians as the most glorious epoch in their history. The work of the early Nemanjids was now to be carried forward to its logical conclusion, for Dušan brought genius both to the development of the internal resources of the Serbian lands and to the execution of a daring foreign policy.

Serbia of course remained fundamentally an agricultural state, but every effort was made to encourage industry and commerce. Foreigners were brought in to work the mines; a colony of Saxon miners, for example, worked the silver mines of Novo Brdo and practised the trade of charcoal burners. Ragusan merchants in particular received trading privileges throughout the entire realm. The east-west Roman roads across the Balkans carried a variety of commodities—oil, wine, manufactures and luxury goods from the coast; metals, cattle, timber, wool, skins and leather from the interior. It was this economic development that made possible the expenses of advance into foreign lands and the creation of the medieval Serbian empire.

Dušan's reign opened inauspiciously enough, for in 1331 he had to suppress serious revolts both in Zeta and in northern Albania. To the south, however, the periodic confusion in the affairs of the Byzantine empire invited interference, and the main objective of Dušan's policy seems to have been Constantinople. There were, it is true, complicated negotiations with Bosnia, Ragusa, Hungary and Venice, and sometimes even war with Bosnia and Hungary; but all these incidents were so many distractions from the great design that drew Dušan's ambition south-eastwards. With the aid of hired mercenaries, he was able by 1345 to occupy the whole of Macedonia and more; Salonica itself eluded his grasp, but the great fortress of Ohrid, and the cities of Valona, Berat and Seres were now in Serbian hands. The new territories were placed under Serbian governors, but their existing customs and privileges were confirmed and respected. In imitation of the Byzantine empire, Dušan gave his officials high-sounding titles like those of 'Despot', 'Caesar' and 'Sebastocrat'. The Serbian archbishop of Peć, despite opposition from the patriarch of Constantinople, was raised in 1346 to the dignity of a patriarchate. Finally, on Easter Day 1346, Stephen was crowned with great pomp at Skoplje as 'Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks', a title which was soon enlarged into 'Emperor and Autocrat

of the Serbs and Greeks, the Bulgarians and Albanians'. Since the defeat of 1330, in which Dušan himself had played a part, Bulgaria had remained as a kind of dependency in his family, and the Bulgarian patriarch assisted in the coronation ceremonies of 1346.



Fig. 22. Serbia under the Nemanjid dynasty

Based on (i) S. Stanojević, *Istorijski Atlas*, plate 48 (3rd ed., Beograd, 1934); (ii) H. W. V. Temperley, *History of Serbia*, p. 60 (London, 1919).

Three years after his coronation, Dušan endowed his new empire with the famous 'Zakonik' or Code of Laws (1349) which was a fusion of Byzantine law and Serbian custom. In the same year, too, came a further extension of frontiers, for Dušan was able to occupy the whole of northern Greece up to the Gulf of Corinth; Durazzo alone remained independent (Fig. 22). Stephen's friends at Ragusa

and Venice hastened to congratulate the 'Imperator Rasciae et Romaniae' on his new conquests.

The Byzantine emperors in their efforts to deal with the Serbian advance had enlisted the support of the Ottoman Turks from Asia Minor in 1345 and again in 1349. It was to prove a dangerous policy, for when the Turks responded to a similar invitation in 1353, they remained entrenched in the peninsula of Gallipoli. The Turkish danger was now becoming apparent to all Balkan peoples, and the diplomacy of Dušan at the time indicates that he aimed both at conquering Constantinople and at checking the possibility of a Turkish advance into Europe with one and the same blow. He negotiated for help from Venice, and even from the Papacy; but, in the midst of great preparations for a march on Constantinople, he died of a fever in 1355 at the age of forty-six. It was a critical moment in the history of Europe; Dušan died at the very time that the Ottomans were gaining a permanent foothold on the continent.

The break-up of the Serbian empire, 1355-1459

Stephen Dušan was succeeded by his only son Stephen Uroš V who lived until 1371, but, long before this year, the Serbian empire had broken into fragments. Disorder and rebellions had immediately followed Dušan's death, and the various districts of the empire were soon able to assert their independence. Thessaly became independent under Simeon Uroš, an uncle of the new emperor; Epirus was disputed and divided by various families—Serb, Albanian and others—and its local history became very confused; Macedonia, too, fell under various chieftains, the most important of whom was a certain Vukašin, despot of Prilep, whose territory at one time seems even to have reached the Danube. To the west, in Zeta, the house of Balša also became independent and founded the state of Montenegro. Finally, a nobleman named Lazar Hrebeljanović ruled the northern portion of Dušan's realm. All central authority disappeared from the lands of Stephen Uroš V.

This disunion came at a most unfortunate moment. After their establishment in Gallipoli in 1354, the Turks immediately began to advance in Europe. Adrianople was captured in 1360, and this was soon followed by the gain of most of Thrace and of Bulgaria south of the Danube; the Turkish capital was moved from Brusa in Asia Minor to Adrianople. Faced with this Turkish threat, the Serb princes for a moment forgot their feuds, and formed a league to resist the Turkish advance, but they were defeated at Tchermen on

the Maritsa in 1371; Vukašin was drowned, and many others with him. A few months later Stephen Uroš died, the last of the Nemanjić dynasty and the last emperor of Serbia. During the decade that followed, the Turks gradually took over the whole of Macedonia. Many Serbian princes there still retained a shadowy independence as vassals of the sultan, and the most famous of these was Marko Kraljević, son of Vukašin, and his successor at Prilep. It is somewhat ironical that Marko, a Turkish vassal, should have become the hero of so many Serbian legends and ballads (see p. 307). The chronology of the Turkish advance now becomes confusing, for some localities changed hands several times and there were many shades of vassalage, but, whatever the doubt about this or that point, it is clear that from this time onward the fate of the Balkans lay in Turkish hands.

The hope of Serbia after 1371 rested with Lazar Hrebeljanović, ruler of north Serbia, who did not claim even the title of king, let alone that of emperor, but who was content with that of lord (*knež*). In his principality north of Skoplje, with its capital at Kruševac, Lazar prepared to resist the Turk (Fig. 23). With the aid of Tvrtko of Bosnia, he formed a pan-Serbian league to save the Balkans for the Balkan peoples. At length, the two armies, Christian and Turk, met on 15 June 1389 on the fateful 'Field of Blackbirds' in the plain of Kosovo. The Christian army included Serbs, Albanians, Croats, Bulgarians and Hungarians. Victory, however, lay with the Turks, and the flower of the Serb aristocracy fell in the battle. The Serbian empire, already in ruins, never recovered after this. The disaster left a great impression upon later generations, and the defeat and the exploits of various Serb chieftains inspired some of the most famous ballad poetry in Europe. A great cycle of legends gathered around the name of Kosovo (see p. 306), and village minstrels, on their *gusle*, kept alive the melancholy fate of the Christian captains throughout later centuries; the anniversary of the battle is still celebrated each year in Serbia on Vidovdan (28 June).

Kosovo, however, did not result in the immediate extinction of the state. A diminished Serbian principality continued to exist under its own rulers (now called 'despots') for seventy years. But for most of this time, the Serbian despots were tributary to the Turks. Lazar, who had died on the day of the battle, was succeeded by his son Stephen (1389–1427), and the Serbs had a respite for a time when the Turks were involved in a struggle against Tamerlane in Asia (1402). Belgrade, which had been in Hungarian hands, was

recovered and became the capital (1404). Stephen's successor was his nephew George Branković (1427-56) who tried, with the help of John Hunyadi of Hungary, to drive back the Turks. He ceded



Fig. 23. Serbia under Prince Lazar (1371-89)

Based on S. Stanojević, *Istoriski Atlas*, plate 51 (3rd ed., Beograd, 1934).

Belgrade to the Magyars in return for various advantages, and transferred his capital to Smederevo (Semendria) lower down the Danube, at its junction with the Morava (Fig. 24).

The history of Serb-Turkish relations after 1427 becomes even more confusing than before. But amidst the complicated events, and despite the help of John Hunyadi of Hungary, the Turk continued to advance, although there were occasional checks. By 1441,

the sultan was master of the greater part of Serbia, and in 1459 he succeeded in capturing the last Serbian stronghold of Smederevo. With it fell the last hope of an independent Serbia. Soon, Bosnia to



Fig. 24. Serbia under George Branković (1427-56)

Based on S. Stanojević, *Istoriski Atlas*, plate 51 (3rd ed., Beograd, 1934).

the west was likewise to fall, and Serb freedom was to disappear completely except from the little refuge of Montenegro.

THE TURKISH PERIOD, 1459-1804

After the fall of Smederevo in 1459, the Serbians remained under Turkish rule for some 350 years, but the Turks never succeeded in subduing Serbia as completely as they subdued Bulgaria. The

Serbians were more remote than the Bulgarians; they covered a larger area; they always had the example of the Montenegrins to inspire them; and, finally, the mountainous nature of the country made police-work difficult, and there may have been hiding-places and fortresses that were never discovered by the Turk, and that provided homes for brigands or 'haiduks'.

Moreover, many Serbians left the country, for one result of the Turkish advance had been a large-scale movement of people in the Balkan peninsula. They moved partly to the north into Slavonia and Hungary, and partly to the west into Bosnia, Dalmatia and Montenegro (Fig. 49). Despot George Branković had large estates in Hungary and he had encouraged the emigration of Serbians into them during the early part of the fifteenth century. Now, after the fall of Serbia in 1459, still more Serbians migrated northward before the advancing Turk. Many of these Serbian refugees across the Danube were temporarily submerged as the Turkish invasion swept on to Budapest and beyond, but even so, their settlement was to be of great importance in the general history of the Serbian people (see p. 70). Those that remained in Serbia were left for long under a régime that, though oppressive, was not intolerable, for they had a great deal of independence both in ecclesiastical affairs and in local administration. It was not until the frontiers of the Turkish empire had begun to shrink in Europe, after 1683, that the worst features of Turkish rule appeared in Serbia.

Moslem and Christian

In Serbia, as a whole, Islam was never accepted, and the Serbian people remained faithful to the Serb Orthodox Church. The Bogomil heresy had long been stamped out, and consequently there was less fear that the Serbian nobles would become Moslems and retain their lands as did the nobles of Bosnia (see p. 50). In any case, the numerous wars between Turks and Serbians had already destroyed a large number of the great native landowners of Serbia before 1459. Only a few converts to Islam were made.

One of the main characteristics of the Turkish régime was toleration in matters of religion, and indeed the Orthodox Serbs probably got better treatment from the Turks than they would have done from their Roman Catholic fellows. A Serbian song tells how George Branković asked John Hunyadi what faith he would impose on the Serbians if freed from the Turk, and the answer was 'The Latin'. Branković then put the same question to the sultan who said, 'I will

leave the people to bow in the mosque or to cross themselves in the churches as they will'. The story certainly does incorporate a great truth about life in the Balkans during Turkish times. Greek and Latin antagonism was always a factor to be reckoned with in Christian-Turkish relations. Whatever the economic and political condition of the Christian population under Turkish rule, their religious life was their own. Some churches it is true were converted into mosques or into public buildings, but still the fact remains that, with few exceptions, the Turkish régime was a tolerant one.

The status of the Serb Orthodox Church was, however, somewhat complicated. The creation of the patriarchate of Peć in 1346 had aroused opposition from the Byzantine patriarch, and in 1352 the Serbian Church had been excommunicated. The ban had been lifted in 1374 at the request of Prince Lazar, and the autocephalous character of the Serbian Church had been recognized. But with the coming of the Turks the position became more complicated, for Turkish policy aimed at managing the Christian populations through the Greek Church at Constantinople. In the middle of the fifteenth century, with the fall of Smederevo (see p. 91), therefore, the authority of the Byzantine patriarch was extended over the Church of Peć, which was made subordinate to the archbishop of Ohrid (1459). The details are vague, but the change meant that Greek and Turkish influence were now able to be more important in Serbian national life.

In the next century, however, the ex-Serbian Grand Vizier Sokolović restored the status of the Serbian national Church; Peć once more became the seat of a patriarchate in 1557 (Fig. 25), and so it remained until 1766 as a great focus of national life. It was the Patriarch Jovan II who stimulated the revolt known as 'the Insurrection of St Sava' in 1593. This dragged on with Austrian support until 1609, and it showed how determined was the resistance of the Serbs.

Turkish administration

Turkish supremacy did not at first press as heavily upon the Serbians as later, and the lot of the Christian peasantry or *raja* during the earlier portion of the Turkish régime was far from unendurable. While the functions of central government were destroyed or absorbed, those of local government were allowed to continue. The details of government changed from time to time, but generally the area included in pre-1913 Serbia comprised the four pashaliks of



Fig. 25. The Patriarchate of Peć, 1557

Based on S. Stanojević, *Istoriski Atlas*, plate 50 (3rd ed., Beograd, 1934). For the overlap between the patriarchate and the nineteenth-century Bulgarian exarchate, see Fig. 38.

Belgrade, Vidin, Niš and Leskovac. The system of taxation was very complicated and included feudal rents to the local spahi or landowner, and payments both to the pasha and to the sultan himself. Christians could appeal to the pasha for protection against the spahi, and were thus often safeguarded against petty tyranny. At first, the

taxation does not seem to have been unduly excessive and it was not until later, when the pashas became corrupt and when central authority became slack, that oppression fully developed. The pashaliks were sub-divided into nahies, presided over by kadis, but each nahie had also a native obor-knez elected by the people, and it was he who represented the Christians in their relations with the kadi or the pasha. He was also responsible for much local government (e.g. the assessment of taxation and the work of policing) and for various judicial functions. The nahie, in turn, was composed of villages, each presided over by a knez or headman elected by the village council.

There were, moreover, considerable tracts of Serbia, mainly in the mountainous areas around Novi Pazar, which were outside the jurisdiction of the kadis. They were occupied by Baši-knezes, descendants of Serbian nobles who had managed, for one reason or another, to retain their lands, and who were responsible only to the pasha at Belgrade. As long as they paid their taxes, they were virtually independent. Their number was reduced after the rebellion of 1593; and, after that of 1689, nearly all of them disappeared (see p. 96).

The main grievance of the Serbians, as of all Christian populations in the early days of Turkish rule, was the method of recruiting for the *corps d'élite* of the Turkish army, the janissaries. Its origin is obscure, and many of the details of the system are not clear. But in effect, it meant that every district had to supply periodically a certain number of tribute-children to be brought up as Moslems in a sort of military brotherhood. By the sixteenth century, the janissaries had grown into a powerful and favoured corps; they became a closed corporation and ceased to be recruited from tribute children; the last regular levy was made in 1676. Ironically enough, during the eighteenth century the exactions and oppression of the janissaries contributed much to increase the social misery of the Serbian people.

The turn of the tide

During the seventeenth century, symptoms of decline were already becoming apparent in the Ottoman empire. The triumph of the Austrian general Montecuculi at St Gothard on the Raab in 1664 was the first decisive land victory won by the Christian powers against the Turks. The repulse from Vienna in 1683 was another indication that the term of Ottoman supremacy in the Balkan lands

had passed its zenith, and was a prelude to further disasters. Most of Hungary was reconquered by the Christians in 1686–87. Belgrade was recovered in 1688, and the Austrians, sweeping southwards, stood victorious on the fatal field of Kosovo; they even reached Skoplje. The Serbians rose with enthusiasm against the Turks, but they soon discovered that the Austrians hoped to win them to Roman Catholicism; Jesuit priests followed in the wake of the Austrian army, and many Serbians fell away from the Austrian cause. In any case, the Austrians were obliged to retire beyond the Danube, nor did the decade of fighting that followed bring them further victories in Serbia. By the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, Turkey, it is true, lost Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia, but Serbia itself remained under Turkish control (Fig. 7).

The war had been marked by one very interesting episode. The retreat of the Austrians had left the Serbians at the mercy of Turkish reprisals, and, in 1691, the Patriarch Arsen III organized a great Serbian emigration northward. Estimates vary, but some 30,000–40,000 families crossed the Danube to settle in southern Hungary. Here, the emperor promised them full religious liberty and various privileges; and they, together with those Serbians who had come north in earlier centuries, were to play an important part in the history of the Serbian people (see p. 71). They had left the area around Peć, Prizren and northern Macedonia; and Albanian Moslems spread northward and eastward into the vacant lands which had been Slav since the seventh century (see p. 245).

The year 1715 found Turkey and Austria at war again. The Austrians under Prince Eugene were completely victorious, and at the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, the Turks were forced to cede not only part of Wallachia and the Banat of Temesvar, but also a strip of territory south of the Sava-Danube line (Fig. 7). At last, some portion of Serbian soil was freed from Turkish rule, but the Orthodox Serbians seem to have fared worse under their new Roman Catholic masters than they had done under the Moslems. Indeed a counter-migration started, and large numbers of Serbians migrated southward to the districts still under Turkish control. When war broke out again in 1738, the Serbians did little to help; their Patriarch Arsen IV persuaded them to rise against the Turk, but they did so half-heartedly, and at the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), the Austrians were forced to withdraw to the north of the Sava-Danube line. Belgrade and the Morava valley were lost permanently to the Hapsburgs.

The condition of Serbia in the eighteenth century

The Serbian lands were at peace from 1739 to 1788, but the condition of the Serbian peasantry greatly deteriorated during this period. As the central authority of Turkey grew weaker, the rapacity of its local officials grew greater. Serbia, too, had now become a frontier province of the Turkish empire; Belgrade received a garrison of janissaries, and even Turkish law was not enough to protect the Christian peasantry from their exactions and ill-treatment. The social and economic conditions of the Serbian people grew ever worse. Things were bad even as early as 1717. In that year Lady Mary Wortley Montague travelled through the country and she has left us a picture of the land in a letter to the Princess of Wales: 'We crossed the deserts of Serbia,' she wrote, 'almost quite overgrown with wood, through a country naturally fertile. The inhabitants are industrious, but the oppression of the peasants is so great, they are forced to abandon their houses, and neglect their tillage, all they have being a prey to the janissaries, whenever they please to seize upon it. We had a guard of 500 of them, and I was almost in tears every day to see their insolencies in the poor villages through which we passed.'*

While Turkish officers and officials were thus increasing the misery of the Serbian people, another foe in the form of the Greek Church was attacking the Serb Church. During the eighteenth century, the administrative machine at Constantinople was under the virtual control of Greek officials who lived in the Phanar quarter of Constantinople—hence their name 'Phanariotes'. They, in agreement with the officials of the Greek Church, wished for the hellenization of the whole Orthodox Church, and, in 1737, the nomination to the see of Peć was placed in the hands of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople. In 1766, the patriarchate of Peć was abolished and control of the Serb Church in Turkey passed completely into the hands of the Greek patriarchate. For the rest of the century, the Serb Church was exposed to the full evils of the Phanariot régime. Serb bishops were expelled, and their offices put up to the highest bidder. Many of the lower clergy, too, were deposed. The old Slav liturgies were destroyed and replaced by Greek rites. Fortunately for Serbian religion and education, these conditions were not to last for much more than a generation. One of the first acts of the rebels

* *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M——y W——y M——e*, vol. I, p. 152 (London, 1763); the spelling has been modernized in this quotation.

of 1804 was to expel the Greek clergy and to assert the independence of the Serbian Church.

Russia, Austria and Serbia in the eighteenth century

During the eighteenth century a new factor began to affect the destiny of the Serbian people, for a natural corollary to the expansion of the Russian state under Peter the Great (1689–1725) and his successors was Russian interference in the affairs of the Orthodox population of the Balkan lands. Austria thus found a new ally in forcing back the Ottoman frontier, and the two powers, Austria and Russia, acted more or less together during the eighteenth century. Their alliance, however, was always tinged with rivalry, for both aimed at the hegemony of the Balkans.

After the middle of the century, both Austrian and Russian propaganda were preparing the Balkan Christians for the day of liberation, and Joseph II and Catherine came to a secret understanding in 1782 for partitioning the peninsula between them. Austria was to have Bosnia, Hercegovina, part of Serbia, Dalmatia and Montenegro, while Russian influence was to be dominant in the rest of the area—partly in the form of direct sovereignty and partly in the form of a restored Byzantine empire for Catherine's grandson, with Constantinople as its capital. Venice was to be given the Morea, Cyprus and Crete in compensation for Dalmatia.

War broke out between Turkey, on the one hand, and Russia and Austria on the other, in 1787. Joseph II invited the Serbs to join his forces, and the response was great. A rising was organized in northern Serbia, in the district of Šumadija, and many Serbians now served their first military apprenticeship. National feeling rose high as the campaign progressed favourably. But Serbian hopes were doomed to disappointment. Under pressure from England and France, Austria concluded the Treaty of Sistova (August 1791), and Russia concluded the Treaty of Jassy (June 1792). The Serbians had to remain content with an amnesty, and some gain of civil rights. The Christian attack had been unsuccessful—but only for the moment. What the Great Powers had failed to do, Serbia was shortly to do largely for herself.

The following decade opened with a period of mild Turkish rule, and the janissaries were expelled from the pashalik of Belgrade. Soon, however, the janissaries returned, and there was some confused fighting in which the Turkish pasha had to rely on Christian help to put down their forces (1798). But their recovery was quick, and

they instituted a reign of terror which the sultan was powerless to suppress, and before which both Turkish kadis and Serbian knezes were helpless. The Serbians began to fear a general massacre, and in 1804 they rose, not against the sultan, but against the virtually independent forces of the janissaries.

MODERN SERBIA, 1804-1914

'The story of the Serbian revolt is an epic, with folk tales for its history and Kara George for its hero. The deeds of the Serbians and of their leader are so remarkable that even legend can hardly exaggerate them. A handful of peasantry or "rayahs" arises suddenly, routs great Turkish armies, besieges citadels, alternately defends and defeats pashas, and finally wins its independence by its own bravery.'*

But despite these heroic beginnings, the rise of modern Serbia presents in many ways a sorry tale. Amidst the many complications, and against the background of rising national self-consciousness, two *motifs* can be discerned. On the one hand, there was the internal rivalry of two native dynasties—that of Karageorgević and that of Obrenović—and, of the ten modern rulers of Serbia, four were deposed and three were murdered. On the other hand, there was the external rivalry of Austria and Russia for hegemony in the Balkans. And so it was that upon the smaller wheels of Balkan politics, the greater wheels of European diplomacy turned, and, in due course, Serbian affairs were to form a pretext for the great conflagration of 1914-18.

The first rising, 1804-13 (Kara George)

The Serbian ring-leader in 1804 was a dealer in pigs called George Petrović, better known as 'Black' George or Kara George, from his black hair. He had been born in 1760, and had already served in the revolt of 1787-88. 'His was one of those wild elemental natures so often found among the savage peasants of the Balkans, cruel yet heroic, wild yet generous.'† The centre of the revolt was in the Šumadija district between the Morava and the Drina rivers. Village knezes, haiduk chiefs and warlike priests led the peasantry in local actions against the janissaries, and Kara George co-ordinated their efforts. Attempts were made to obtain the support of Austria and Russia, and the latter gave financial and diplomatic aid. It was a

* H. W. V. Temperley, *History of Serbia*, p. 174 (London, 1919).

† H. W. V. Temperley, *op. cit.*, p. 183 (London, 1919).

strange situation. The Serbian Christians were in effect fighting to maintain the sultan's authority over the rebellious janissaries, yet they were distrusted by the local officials of the sultan and were appealing for outside help. With their successes, Serbian ideas had grown, and, in April 1805, a *Skupština* or Assembly summoned by Kara George submitted to Constantinople proposals which amounted to local autonomy. The sultan, however, rejected these, and the struggle against the janissaries was converted into a war for independence.

Turkish forces were now sent into the Morava valley, but during the autumn of 1805 and in the following year, the Serbians, aided by the character of the country, were able to maintain themselves against vastly superior numbers. The towns of Belgrade, Požarevac, Smederevo and Šabac were now in Serbian hands, and, by June 1807, Užice, the last fortress of any size in northern Serbia, had fallen. The arrival of Russian troops, and a change of government in Constantinople, helped the Serbian cause, but the Turkish armies were still greatly superior in number and there were some Serbian defeats. Events became confused during the years 1808–11. There were dissensions among the Serbian leaders, many of whom resisted the authority of Kara George. Russian policy, too, was bound up with the wider politics of the European scene. Threatened with the Napoleonic invasion, Russia concluded the Treaty of Bucharest with Turkey in May 1812. Article VIII of this treaty promised internal autonomy for Serbia, but the wording was vague and open to misinterpretation. The rest of the year passed in negotiations between the Serbians and the sultan. While Russia was busy with Napoleon, the Turks hoped to deal with the rebellious Serbians, and assembled their armies for renewed attack. By October 1813, they were masters of Belgrade once more. Kara George, faced with intrigues among his followers and with the overwhelming forces of the enemy, escaped with a few followers across the Danube into Hungarian territory. The first revolt was over.

The second rising, 1815–17 (Miloš Obrenović)

Among the leaders that remained was Miloš Obrenović, a man some twenty years younger than Kara George. He had not, it is true, played one of the most prominent parts in the late rebellion, and he was far from friendly to Kara George, who was said to have murdered his half-brother. For a time, Miloš used his influence in helping the Turkish authorities to pacify the country, and he was

appointed obor-knez of the three nahies of Rudnik, Posideja and Kragujevac, i.e. of practically the whole Šumadija district. But the Turkish re-occupation was marked by plunderings, executions and unspeakable cruelties. Garrisons of janissaries and Albanians were scattered through the country. The Congress of Vienna paid little attention to the woes of the Serbians, and all Russia could do was to threaten. A general massacre was expected, and once more the Serbians were ready to rise in revolt. Faced with this situation, Miloš started the rebellion on Palm Sunday in April 1815, outside the church of Takovo, his native village. Like Kara George, he was of peasant stock, but he was a much more shrewd, adroit and complicated character, better fitted to deal with the inscrutable character of Turkish diplomacy.

The rising that followed was marked by astonishing success. By July, the towns of Rudnik, Čačak, Požarevac and Kraljevo had been captured, and the north had been freed. The final defeat of Napoleon, too, left Russia in a stronger position, and the Serbians began negotiations with the Turks. An arrangement was made which gave considerable autonomy to the Serbians who lived immediately south of the Danube (Fig. 26); they were allowed to retain their arms, to collect their own taxes, to participate more fully in the administration of justice, and to hold a national assembly or *Skupština* at Belgrade. On the other hand, the area was still under Turkish sovereignty; Turkish garrisons still remained; and a Turkish pasha still resided at Belgrade.

While these negotiations were proceeding, Miloš was harassed by a series of revolts from his compatriots, who were dealt with in no tender fashion. Thus, in June 1817, Kara George himself returned to Serbia—an embarrassment both to Miloš and to the Turkish authorities. He was soon murdered under suspicious circumstances; and this started a blood-feud between the two families, which was to disturb the political life of Serbia throughout the nineteenth century. In November, the *Skupština* elected Miloš as hereditary prince (*knez*) of the country. The second revolt was over, and Serbia, if not free, was at any rate an autonomous principality. It was only a small province, including not much more than Šumadija, but at any rate it was a beginning.

Serbian national feeling

The struggle for political independence was not only a revolt against Turkish misrule, but an expression of Serbian national

feeling that was to become more and more vigorous as the nineteenth century progressed. The feeling manifested itself in a variety of forms, but one of its most important symptoms lay not on the



Fig. 26. The growth of Serbia, 1817-1913

Based on C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew, *An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, plates 23-25 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1924).

battlefield nor in the political arena, but in the linguistic studies of a number of scholars. By the early nineteenth century, the literary language of Serbia did not correspond with the popular speech of the Serbian people. It was an artificial language with an Old Slavonic foundation upon which Russian forms had been grafted. Thus there

were eighteen letters in the Old Slavonic alphabet for which the Serbo-Croat language had no use, and, on the other hand, there were six sounds in Serbo-Croat without symbols. The Hungarian Serb scholar Dositije Obradović (1739–1811) was the pioneer who championed the idea that the literary Serbian tongue should correspond with the vernacular speech, and it is interesting to note that he was the first Minister of Instruction in Kara George's administration.

His work was carried on by Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864), who completely reformed the Serbian literary language (see p. 210). Karadžić's work had two aspects, both closely connected. In the first place, he collected all available Serbian folk songs and folklore, and in 1814 published his first book at Vienna—'A small collection of Slavonic-Serbian songs of the common people'. This was a time when the Romantic Movement in Europe led many groups of people on the continent to the study of their own customs, legends and dialects. The Serbian ballads presented a rich field for the investigator, and the fame of Serbian folk-poetry spread; Goethe and Grimm were loud in their praise. To the Serbian people itself it brought a more intense self-consciousness about their past glory and traditions.

On the other hand, there were more purely linguistic reforms, for Karadžić aimed at making the literary language correspond to popular speech. In 1814, at Vienna also, he published his first grammatical essay, 'The grammar of the Serbian language as spoken by the common people.' He published a larger grammar later, together with a great Serbian dictionary. His work reformed the Cyrillic alphabet according to strict phonetic principles, and the result was one of the most simple and logical systems of spelling in the world. At first, the reform was opposed by the Church and by the more conservative elements, and the Serbian authorities were even induced to prohibit the printing of books with the new letters. But the prohibition was withdrawn in 1859, and, before Karadžić died in 1864, the success of his work was assured.

Military activity and political complication fill much of the Serbian scene in the nineteenth century; but, behind it all, the importance of this linguistic work must not be forgotten. The work of Karadžić and his associates was important not only in shaping the literary language of the future, important as that was, but in the wider spheres of national feeling and political self-consciousness. In reminding the Serbs of their past glory and traditions, Karadžić

was also providing a political programme for the future. It was a phenomenon that was common all over Europe—among the Czechs, the Poles, the Greeks and many other peoples. It was particularly common among the Slavs of the Balkan peninsula, in Slovenia, Croatia and elsewhere; and the work of Karadžić was to become not Serbian but Yugoslav in its scope (see p. 210).

Miloš Obrenović, 1817–39

The revolt was over, but much still remained to be settled, and it was long before the election of Miloš as hereditary prince was recognized by the sultan. The delays of Turkish negotiation were interminable, for it was a policy well suited to the Turkish interests. A contemporary British ambassador at Constantinople summed up Turkish diplomacy as ‘coffee, pipes and preliminary deliberations’. In this case, the preliminary deliberations stretched from 1815 to 1833. Russian influence helped to clarify the position of Miloš. The Convention of Akerman between Russia and Turkey in 1826 contained a clause promising to implement the eighth article of the Treaty of Bucharest (see p. 100). But there were delays, and, not until the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–29 had ended in the Treaty of Adrianople, was any real attempt made to meet the Serbian demand. At last, in November 1830, under the terms of the treaty, Miloš was acknowledged as hereditary prince of Serbia. The Russian right to protect the Serbians was recognized, and complete internal autonomy was granted. The independence of the Serbian Church was also acknowledged, and all Turks were to withdraw from the country except for the garrisons of eight towns.

Even now, the question of boundaries remained open. Serbia still did not include all the territory that had risen for Kara George, for there were six nahies in the south that were excluded. Finally, at a time when the Turks were embroiled in Egypt, Miloš fomented disturbances in these southern areas, and then invaded them to restore order. On 25 May 1833, he received formal acknowledgment of his jurisdiction in the district (Fig. 26). The ‘preliminary deliberations’ were at last over.

But the difficulties of Miloš were not only external. Within the state itself, he did much. Trade was encouraged; the army was reorganized; schools were founded; roads were built. He refused to grant out the crown-lands that now became available, thus preventing the creation of big estates and preserving Serbia as a peasant state of small-holders. But his methods were autocratic, and more than

once he had recourse to assassination. There were dissensions among his followers; there was disillusion when the expenses of the new state had to be met. The wild chiefs and haiduks, moreover, 'found the time hanging heavy with no Turks to plunder'. Several revolts broke out, and Miloš was forced to grant a constitution in 1835, but this remained only a statement on paper. Under Russian influence, another attempt at a constitution was made in 1838; and, faced with increasing difficulties, Miloš abdicated in favour of his son, Milan, and retired to his estates in Roumania. His career was not ended for, after twenty years, he returned again to rule his country.

Milan Obrenović was mortally ill at the time of his father's abdication, and he died within a month, not even knowing that he had become Prince of Serbia.

Michael Obrenović, 1839-42

Milan was succeeded by his brother Michael, who was only sixteen years old. The sultan, however, refused to acknowledge Michael's position as hereditary, and insisted on appointing two advisers. Difficulties were further increased by general discontent at increased taxation and by the supporters of the Karageorgević family. At length, one of the advisers, Vučić, carried out a *coup d'état*; and Prince Michael, despite the support of Russia, was forced to resign. He left Serbia, but after eighteen years he was called back to rule once more over his stormy principality.

Alexander Karageorgević, 1842-59

The *Skupština* now deposed the Obrenović dynasty, and elected Alexander, son of the great Kara George. There were difficulties with Turkey, who again refused to acknowledge the hereditary character of the office, and also with Russia who insisted on the exile of the advisers to whom Alexander owed his throne. There was, moreover, the continued hostility and intrigue of the Obrenović party, and this unrest broke out into rebellion in 1845. Yet despite these difficulties, the period saw considerable improvement in the material condition of the province, and considerable public works were undertaken.

But Alexander proved incapable of steering his way through the complicated foreign politics of the time. In 1848 the Magyars revolted against the emperor, and the Serbs of South Hungary took the opportunity to rise against the Magyars (see p. 74). The

Serbian were eager to help their fellow-Slavs across the border, but the motives that governed the policy of Alexander were complex. Russia, while herself helping Austria to deal with the recalcitrant Magyars, was not anxious to see Serbia involved lest the interference might result in the union of the Serbs of South Hungary and of Serbia under Austrian protection. Austria, on the other hand, while glad of assistance, was not anxious to see ideas of Serbian freedom extend to her own Serbs. Alexander's policy of official neutrality, however, cost him much popularity at home, for there were many Serbs who felt he should have gone to the rescue of their kinsmen across the Danube; nor was the situation helped by the fact that the Obrenović family in exile had openly championed the cause of the Hungarian Serbs.

In the years that followed, Austria did all she could to bring Serbia under her influence, and so check the power of Russia in the Balkans. Alexander proved susceptible, and during the Crimean War, Serbia remained neutral despite the pro-Russian feeling of the Serbian people. By the Treaty of Paris in 1856, the status of Serbia was guaranteed, but the exclusive 'protection' of Russia was replaced by that of all the Powers; the sultan retained the right of garrisoning certain towns, but was to make no armed intervention without the consent of the Powers. These external complications produced a reaction within the state. The combination of anti-Austrian feeling and of pro-Obrenović sympathy led to plots and disorders, and in 1859, Alexander was deposed by the *Skupština*.

Miloš Obrenović, 1859-60

Prince Miloš, now an old man of seventy-nine, was recalled from exile amidst much enthusiasm. He quickly showed his independence of Austria, and he took a strong line against Turkey. He wished the sultan to acknowledge the hereditary character of his office, and to withdraw the Turkish garrisons from the eight towns they occupied. But in the midst of these plans he died, and was succeeded by his son.

Michael Obrenović, 1860-68

Michael, like his father, ascended the throne for the second time. He had travelled a great deal and had spent some time in the capitals of the west. With this wide experience he was to do much for his country and was one of the ablest rulers it ever had. He at once

set about reorganizing the army, and established a regular force that ultimately reached 100,000; the arsenal at Kragujevac was kept busy. He also succeeded in making constitutional reforms; an electoral law based the franchise on the payment of taxes; a regular judicial system was established; many reforms in administration were carried out. He also managed in 1862 to secure the withdrawal of the Turkish garrisons from two fortresses in Serbia; and it was again stated that all Turks not in the remaining garrisons were to be deported from Serbia, and their property sold. Finally, in 1867, all the Turkish garrisons were withdrawn. But these very successes only served to feed the enmity of his political opponents, including the supporters of the Karageorgević dynasty. On 10 June 1868, while walking in a park outside Belgrade, he was assassinated, and the mystery of the crime was never solved.

Milan Obrenović, 1868–89

Whoever had done the deed, the assassination brought no advantage to the Karageorgević family, for the *Skupština* elected the fourteen-year-old cousin of the late prince as ruler. He came of age four years later, and soon showed more interest in the pleasures of Vienna and Paris than in the politics of Belgrade. In 1876, public opinion forced him to declare war on Turkey in support of the Bosnian insurrection (see p. 54), but he was only saved from disaster through the diplomatic intervention of Russia. The Turks, however, refused to carry out their promises, and Russia declared war in April 1877. Russia, supported by Roumania, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgarian rebels, was victorious, and the result was the Treaty of San Stefano (March 1878). Serbia gained much, including an acknowledgement of her complete independence, but Bulgaria gained more (Fig. 27). It was the high-water mark of Russian influence in the Balkans.

The Great Powers, however, put a restriction upon Russian aspirations at the Treaty of Berlin in June 1878. The problem was to remedy Turkish misrule without increasing Russian influence, and the solution is shown on Fig. 27. 'Greater Bulgaria,' which it was feared would be subservient to Russia, was diminished; but Serbia still received a considerable slice of territory and an acknowledgement of her independence. All the new districts were Serbian-speaking with the exception of Pirot. Her demand for 'Old Serbia', including Skoplje, was refused owing to the influence of Austria-Hungary, already alarmed at the growth of Serbia and at the influence

of the Serbians over the Serbs of South Hungary. By the Treaty of San Stefano, Serbia had almost touched Montenegro, but now the two states were kept apart by the Austrian administration of Bosnia and by the sanjak of Novi Pazar, under Turkish sovereignty but containing Austrian garrisons. The sanjak appeared as a gateway leading down to Salonica and its commerce, and making possible



Fig. 27. The Balkans in 1878

Based on (i) *The Cambridge Modern History Atlas*, map 119 (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1924); (ii) C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew, *An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, plates 23-25 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1924).

It is interesting to compare this with Fig. 38 showing the limits of the Bulgarian exarchate created in 1870, and with Fig. 33 showing the linguistic limits of the Bulgarians according to a Bulgarian source. M. Montenegro.

the Teutonic dream of *Drang nach Osten* in the next generation. The Austrian statesman Andrassy had made the best of a bad bargain. Serbian independence had been achieved, it is true, but she had been left without a seaport, without contact with Montenegro, and at the mercy of Austria. Moreover, any designs the Serbians might have had on Bosnia seemed to be completely checked.

To seal its new independence, Serbia was declared a kingdom in 1882, but this new dignity brought no wisdom to Milan. The

scandals of his private life were public property. There was one party in the state which would have preferred to see a Karageorgević on the throne; another party would have liked Prince Nicholas of Montenegro whose resistance to the Turk had won golden praise (see p. 66). The whole country was full of unrest. Milan had turned for support to the very power that aimed at holding Serbia in subjection. In 1880, commercial agreements put the Serbian export trade at the mercy of Austria-Hungary; and in 1881, Milan concluded a secret agreement by which he promised to negotiate with no other government without first consulting Austria. By this treaty Milan also promised to discourage Serbian agitation in Bosnia in return for Austro-Hungarian support for Serbian claims southward, i.e. towards Macedonia (see p. 126). Milan has been described as one who subordinated everything to Vienna. Serbia had ceased to be a tributary of Turkey only to become a vassal of Austria.

In 1885, Milan, encouraged by Austria, and eager for a spirited foreign policy to make up for his internal difficulties, declared war on Bulgaria, which in that year had enlarged itself by the addition of eastern Rumelia. The campaign was a failure; Milan was saved only by Austrian diplomacy; the treaty that followed maintained the *status quo*. By now, the position of Milan was impossible. His quarrels with his wife were not only scandalous but assumed political importance, for Queen Natalie was a Russian with anti-Austrian sympathies. He attempted to regain popularity by a new constitution in January 1889, but, within a few months, he abdicated in favour of his son aged thirteen.

Alexander Obrenović, 1889–1903

Milan and Natalie, now divorced, continued to live in Serbia for four years, causing trouble and scandal, until at last they left the country—Milan to Vienna and Natalie to Biarritz. The country was now ruled over by a regency, but in 1893 the young king declared himself of age, arrested the regents, and dissolved the constitution of 1889. The country as a whole was in a state of unrest, and its energies were absorbed in bitter party strife. Milan himself returned in 1897 to become Commander-in-Chief of the army. In the meantime, Austrian influence continued to be important.

In the summer of 1900, despite the wishes of his ministers, his army and his people, Alexander married his mistress whose past was very doubtful and who was publicly believed to be incapable of childbirth. Crisis followed crisis. Constitutional government was

becoming a farce. There were disorders and plots. The finances of the country were disorganized, and there was a general feeling of failure in the country. At last, on 10 June 1903, the king and his wife were brutally murdered. The circumstances were particularly revolting and brought discredit upon the country, but the Serbian



Fig. 28. The 'Contested Zone', 1913

Based mainly on *Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*, p. 45 (Carnegie Endowment, Washington, 1914).

people as a whole could only feel relief when they heard that the last Obrenović was no more. Bands played and Belgrade was decorated with flags.

Peter Karageorgević I, 1903–14

The *Skupština* now offered the throne to Peter Karageorgević, then in exile at Geneva; he was the son of Prince Alexander who had been deposed in 1859. The tact of the new king coupled with his strictly constitutional rule brought about a great change in the

life of the state, and the court at Belgrade escaped from the unpleasant limelight of recent years. The constitution of 1889 was revived and made more liberal. The finances were organized, and trade began to improve despite tariff disputes with Austria-Hungary. It was this solid progress at home that made possible the brilliant foreign policy of Serbia in later years.

With the progress of education, and the improvement in communications, closer relations were developed with the Slavs of Croatia-Slavonia and of South Hungary (see pp. 31 and 77), but this *rapprochement* was viewed with great distrust by Austria, no longer in favour at the court. The economic servitude of Serbia to Austria-Hungary, led moreover to a search for an outlet to the sea. 'Serbia must expand or die' became the watchword. Some looked towards Macedonia, and propaganda was spread among the Slav-speaking populations of that province (see p. 126); but more people looked towards Bosnia and Hercegovina now under Austrian administration. Unfortunately, personal relations between Peter and Prince Nicholas of Montenegro were not good, and many Montenegrin students who came to Belgrade complained of the autocratic nature of their ruler. But despite these factors, the foreign politics of the Balkans drew both countries together, and a series of crises precipitated an Austrian-Serbian 'question' that was also of vital interest to the fellow-Serbs of Montenegro.

The Pig War of 1906. Nine-tenths of Serbian exports and three-fifths of her imports passed through or from Austria-Hungary, and in 1905 the Serbians started tariff negotiations with Bulgaria. Austria, wishing to keep the Balkan states apart, at once objected, and demanded, moreover, that all Serbian orders for munitions should be placed only in the Dual Monarchy. When Serbia refused, a prohibitive duty was placed on all Serbian livestock. The so-called 'pig war' threatened disaster to Serbia, for pigs formed her main export; but, despite the difficulties, the Serbians refused to give in, and sought new markets in western Europe. By arrangement with Turkey, the Serbian export trade left via Salonica. The blow turned out to be far less severe than was expected, and Serbia gained politically as well as economically from her new contacts. The situation, however, only convinced the Serbians of the need for an outlet to the sea, and increased their bitterness against Austria. Within two years that bitterness had almost reached breaking-point.

The Bosnian Crisis of 1908. The final annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina by Austria-Hungary on 7 October 1908 aroused fierce

resentment in both Serbia and Montenegro (see p. 56). Russia, too, was loud in condemnation, but was not prepared to go to war against Austria-Hungary supported by Germany. The Serbian press clamoured for war, and there was unrest among all the Slavs of the Balkan peninsula; the international crisis was not over until the



Fig. 29. Areas occupied by Balkan armies at the end of April 1913

Based on *Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*, p. 55 (Carnegie Endowment, Washington, 1914).

following year. In response to German pressure at St Petersburg, Serbia was forced to acquiesce. It is true that in February 1909 Austria withdrew her garrisons from the sanjak of Novi Pazar, in return for formal recognition of her sovereignty over Bosnia and Hercegovina by Turkey. But even this withdrawal was ominous. In 1878, the Austrian General Staff had thought the road to Salonica lay through the sanjak; but by 1909 it was clear that the way lay not through that difficult mountain country, but along the old route of the Morava-Vardar, i.e. through Serbia itself.

Austria, moreover, fearful for her own Slav populations, was loud in complaints about subversive pan-Serb propaganda. The Agram

(Zagreb) trials and the Friedjung forgeries that aimed at bringing discredit upon Serbia only recoiled, however, on the Austrian Foreign Office (see p. 30). The Serbian Foreign Office, in turn, whatever the activities of Serbian unofficial organizations may have been, maintained a strictly correct attitude.



Fig. 30. Territorial modifications by the Treaty of London, 30 May 1913

Based on *Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*, p. 70 (Carnegie Endowment, Washington, 1914). The peninsula of Mount Athos and the Turkish islands in the Aegean (with the exception of Crete) were surrendered to the Great Powers—Article V.

The Balkan Wars, 1912–13. The hopes of Serbia, deprived of Bosnia and access to the Adriatic, were now centring more and more on Macedonia. The memory of Dušan's empire led them here, and unrest and crises within the Turkish empire made the time ripe for intervention (see p. 131). The Turks were weakened by war with Italy, and the sufferings of the Christian populations of Turkey, despite repeated proposals for reform, were reaching boiling point. In the course of 1911–12, various alliances were formed between Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro. They marked a triumph

over centuries of disunion and distrust. The Serbian-Bulgarian treaty of 13 March 1912 made provision for the partition of Macedonia along the following lines: 'all the territory north of the Šar range' was to go to Serbia; 'all the region east of the Rhodope range and the Struma valley' was to go to Bulgaria. Bulgaria hoped the intervening country should form an 'autonomous Macedonia', but, if this should prove impossible, a new line was to be drawn leaving Kumanovo, Skoplje and Debar to Serbia, and giving Kratovo, Veles, Bitolj (Monastir) and Ohrid to Bulgaria (Fig. 28). Serbia undertook to make no claim south of the line; Bulgaria reserved the right to claim territory to the north, in which case Russia was to act as arbitrator. The area of overlapping claims was known as the 'Contested Zone'.

War began with the declaration of Montenegro on 8 October, and, within a few months, to the amazement of Europe, the Turkish forces had collapsed. The Serbian victory at Kumanovo wiped out the stain of Kosovo, and King Peter occupied Skoplje, the ancient capital of Stephen Dušan (Fig. 29). The Treaty of London (30 May 1913) ceded to the Balkan allies all territories 'west of a line drawn from Enos on the Aegean Sea to Midia on the Black Sea, with the exception of Albania' (Fig. 30). It was not only a defeat of the military forces of the Turkish empire, but a defeat of the Austrian dream of *Drang nach Osten*. There was only one compensation: Austria-Hungary and Italy, rather than see Albania partitioned between Slav states on the north and Greece on the south, had succeeded in blocking Serbian access to the Adriatic by proposing the creation of an autonomous Albania.

But the division of the spoil from Turkey caused difficulties among the Balkan allies. Monastir and Ohrid, now occupied by Serbian troops, were claimed by Bulgaria according to the letter of the agreement of March 1912. The Serbians, however, were not disposed to yield. Their reasons were two. In the first place, during the course of the war, Bulgaria had not fulfilled all her obligations according to the military agreement between the two states. In the second place, the creation of an independent Albanian state by the Great Powers had not been foreseen, and this now cut Serbia off from an outlet to the sea. The Serbians therefore had no desire to see themselves separated from the Aegean by a belt of Bulgarian as well as of Greek territory. Russian intervention proved ineffective, and the result was the Second Balkan War of June-July 1913. The Bulgarian army attacked both the Serbs and the Greeks; but Serbia and Greece,

supported by Montenegro and Roumania, were victorious. The subsequent adjustment of frontiers gave the whole of northern and central Macedonia to Serbia, and also divided the sanjak of Novi Pazar between Serbia and Montenegro (Fig. 31).

In Serbia and Montenegro, the result was great rejoicing and a return of national self-confidence. After so many internal and



Fig. 31. The Balkans in August 1913

Based on C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew, *An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, plate 25 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1924).

The arrangement between Serbia and Montenegro respecting the partition of the sanjak of Novi Pazar was not made until 4 November.

external difficulties throughout the nineteenth century, triumph was at last in Serbian hands, and the old capital of Skoplje had been redeemed. Amongst the Slavs of Austria-Hungary—in Bosnia, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia and South Hungary—the result of the Serbian victories can only be described as electrifying. Weary of the Hapsburg régime, many now felt that the future of all Jugoslavs lay with Belgrade.

To Austria-Hungary, the victory brought bitter disappointment. Not only was the road to the east blocked, but the Serbian triumph had intensified the whole Slav question in the Hapsburg monarchy.

It now became the avowed policy of the governments at Vienna and Budapest, supported by that of Berlin, to liquidate once and for all the people who have been aptly described as the 'Guardians of the Gate' to the east. The nature of the country that lay between Austria-Hungary and the Aegean is shown in Fig. 32.

Austrian Designs, 1913-14. A pretext for war was not long in coming. On 28 June 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian and Hungarian crowns, and his wife were assassinated in the streets of Sarajevo by a Bosnian revolutionary (see p. 57). It is true that the archduke was not on friendly terms with the Emperor Francis Joseph, that he was known to have Slav sympathies, and that he was disliked in pan-German circles in Vienna. Adequate precautions for his visit to Sarajevo had not been taken. But, at any rate, his death provided an excuse, and in the following month the Austro-Hungarian government accused the Serbian government of tolerating terrorist organizations directed against Austria-Hungary. Much has been written about the Sarajevo murder and much will probably always remain in doubt. It seems that the assassin and his accomplices were the agents of Serbian officers and revolutionaries. The Serbian government, though aware of what was being plotted, does not appear to have been directly responsible for the crime. In any case, exhausted as she was after the Balkan Wars, it was hardly to the advantage of Serbia to be embroiled in warfare at that moment.

It was on 23 July that the Austro-Hungarian government presented its ultimatum, with ten demands, to Serbia. This stated that the crime had been planned in Belgrade, and that it was part of a 'subversive movement with the object of detaching a part of Austria-Hungary from the Monarchy'. Only forty-eight hours were allowed for a reply to the ultimatum which is now known to have been shown to the German government some twelve hours before it was sent to Belgrade. The Serbians accepted most of the demands, but demurred at two—the dismissal of unspecified officials and officers, and the participation of Austro-Hungarian officials in suppressing anti-Austrian activities in Serbia. The Serbians, however, suggested that the whole question should be submitted to the Hague Tribunal or to the Great Powers. On 28 July, Austria-Hungary declared war. But a war which brought in Russia and involved Germany's dream of *Drang nach Osten*, could not be isolated. Within little more than a week, the great struggle of 1914-18 had started.



α to β 396 miles	A Aliákmon	F Flórina (Lerin)	N Néstos (Mesta)	St Strumica
Miles	B.D. Beli Drim	G.D. Gorna Djumaya	Ni Nišava	Se Seres (Sérrai)
Belgrade to Niš 128	B.M. Binačka Morava	H Homoljske Pl.	O Olympus 9550'	Sk Skoplje
" " Sofia 206	B Bitolj (Monastir)	Is Isker	P Lake Prespa	So Sofia
" " Skoplje 205	C.D. Crai Drim	J.M. Južna Morava	Pč Pčinja	1 Timok
" " Salonica 318	D Lake Dojran	K Kajmahčalan 8278'	P Perister 8530'	U Uroševac
" " Lárissa 377	D Dragoman Pass	Ka Karadžica 7720'	R Rupel Pass	V Vardar (Axiós)
Skoplje to Sofia 107	Dr Drama	Kop Kopaonik 6617'	Rt Rtanj 5118'	Ve Lake Vegorčits
	E Édhessa	Kü Küstendil	S Struma (Strimón)	Z.M. Zapadna Mora

Fig. 32. Block diagram of the Morava-Vardar basin

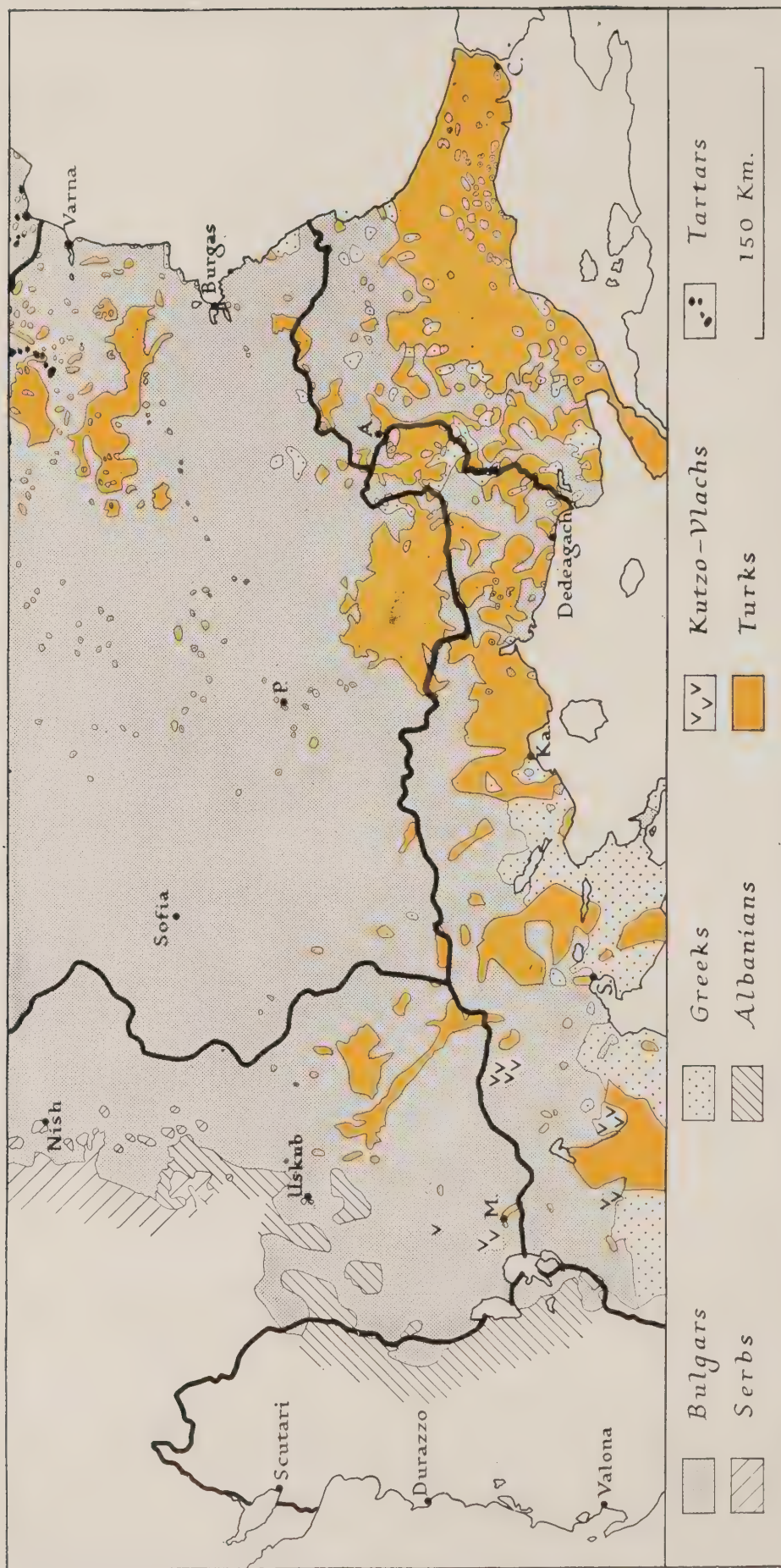


Fig. 33. A Bulgarian view of the ethnography of Macedonia and surrounding areas, 1912

Based on A. Ischirkoff, 'Ethnographische Karte des Bulgarentums auf der Balkanhalbinsel in Jahre 1912', *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, vol. lxi, pp. 339-43 (Gotha, 1915). The pre-1941 international frontiers are shown. It is interesting to compare this with Fig. 38 showing the Bulgarian exarchate of 1870, and with Fig. 27, showing the proposed frontiers at the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878.

Abbreviations: A. Adrianople; C. Constantinople; Ka. Kavalla; M. Monastir; P. Plovdiv; S. Salonica.

MACEDONIA

The Macedonian Problem

The area included under the term 'Macedonia' has varied from time to time and has never corresponded with any single administrative or political unit. It is usually used to describe the central part of Turkey in Europe before the changes of 1912-13—that is an area lying between the river Mesta on the east and Lake Ohrid on the west, and between the Aegean Sea to the south and the mountains of the Šar Planina and the Kara Dagħ to the north. This area included the Turkish vilayets of Salonica together with the greater part of those of Kosovo and Monastir. The population of the area in 1910 was estimated at something over two million made up approximately as follows:

Slavs	1,100,000
Turks	500,000
Greeks	250,000
Albanians	120,000
Vlachs	100,000
Jews	75,000
Gipsies	10,000

But all figures must be taken with the greatest reserve as the table on p. 132 shows. How intermixed the different elements were in some places may be seen from the fact that the area has given rise to the culinary term 'macédoine'.

The ethnographic complexity is further increased by the indeterminate character of the Slavs who form the greater part of the population. Much controversy has raged over the question as to whether the Macedonians speak Serbian or Bulgarian. They can, without difficulty, be understood both by Serbians or Bulgarians, but there are differences. On the one hand, the Macedonians, like the Bulgarians, use the suffix article, and, also, words which in Bulgarian have an 'l', have it also in Macedo-Slav, while it is omitted in Serbo-Croat—e.g. Macedonian *belo* (white), Bulgarian, *belo* and Serbo-Croat *beo*. On the other hand, it has been argued that they are Serbo-Croat by the laws of phonetics and morphology. This conflict between Bulgarian and Serbian views is well illustrated by the different maps showing the ethnography of the area. Figs. 33 and 34 represent the views of a Bulgarian and Serbian geographer respectively; Fig. 35 shows a British interpretation of the same area. As far as Macedonia is concerned, all three views are brought

together in Fig. 36. It is, however, really impossible to draw any lines because Macedo-Slav is not one dialect but a group of similar dialects. Perhaps it would be true to say that the Macedo-Slavs pass by scarcely perceptible grades from the Bulgars of eastern Macedonia to the Serbs north of Skoplje (see p. 206).

There are likewise other contradictory arguments based on popular social and domestic customs. Thus marriage, burial and saint's day customs have been shown to be very much like those of Serbia, while peasant costumes and embroidery designs have been shown to have Bulgarian affinities. Yet other people have again pointed out that this is a transitional area in such matters.

The bitter struggle of rival nationalities dates from the middle of the nineteenth century when the growing self-conscious feelings of the Balkan peoples were asserting themselves not only against their Turkish overlords but also against one another. Thus the Bulgars emancipated themselves from Greek ecclesiastical control only to dispute the issue with the Serbs. While the presence of Moslem Albanians and Turks, Greeks, and Roumanian-speaking Vlachs, together with Jews* and gypsies only served to increase confusion.

The local ingredients among the Macedonian peoples constituted so many *irredente* that tempted and stirred the surrounding states to action. Thus Macedonia was a common factor in all the pre-1914 dreams of a 'Greater Bulgaria', a 'Greater Serbia' and a 'Greater Greece'. There were Roumanian interests, too, and even if Roumania could not, owing to her position, advance any territorial claims in Macedonia, the existence of a Roumanian Vlach population was always a possible factor that might achieve compensation elsewhere in any final Balkan settlement. Fig. 37 provides a schematic idea of the competing territorial claims, in 1912. However rough and inaccurately drawn, it sums up some of the leading features in the Balkan Question in the years immediately preceding 1914.

But the Macedonian Problem was much more complicated even than these considerations would indicate. Macedonia was not only a medley of peoples and an arena for competing Balkan nationalities; it was also, for many years, the meeting place for the international rivalries of the great European powers—particularly of Austria-Hungary and Russia, the former anxiously seeking to control the

* There was a large community of Spanish Jews at Salonica. The Jews arrived there towards the end of the fifteenth century when they were expelled from Spain; and, under Moslem rule, they became a prosperous element not only in Salonica but in most Macedonian towns.

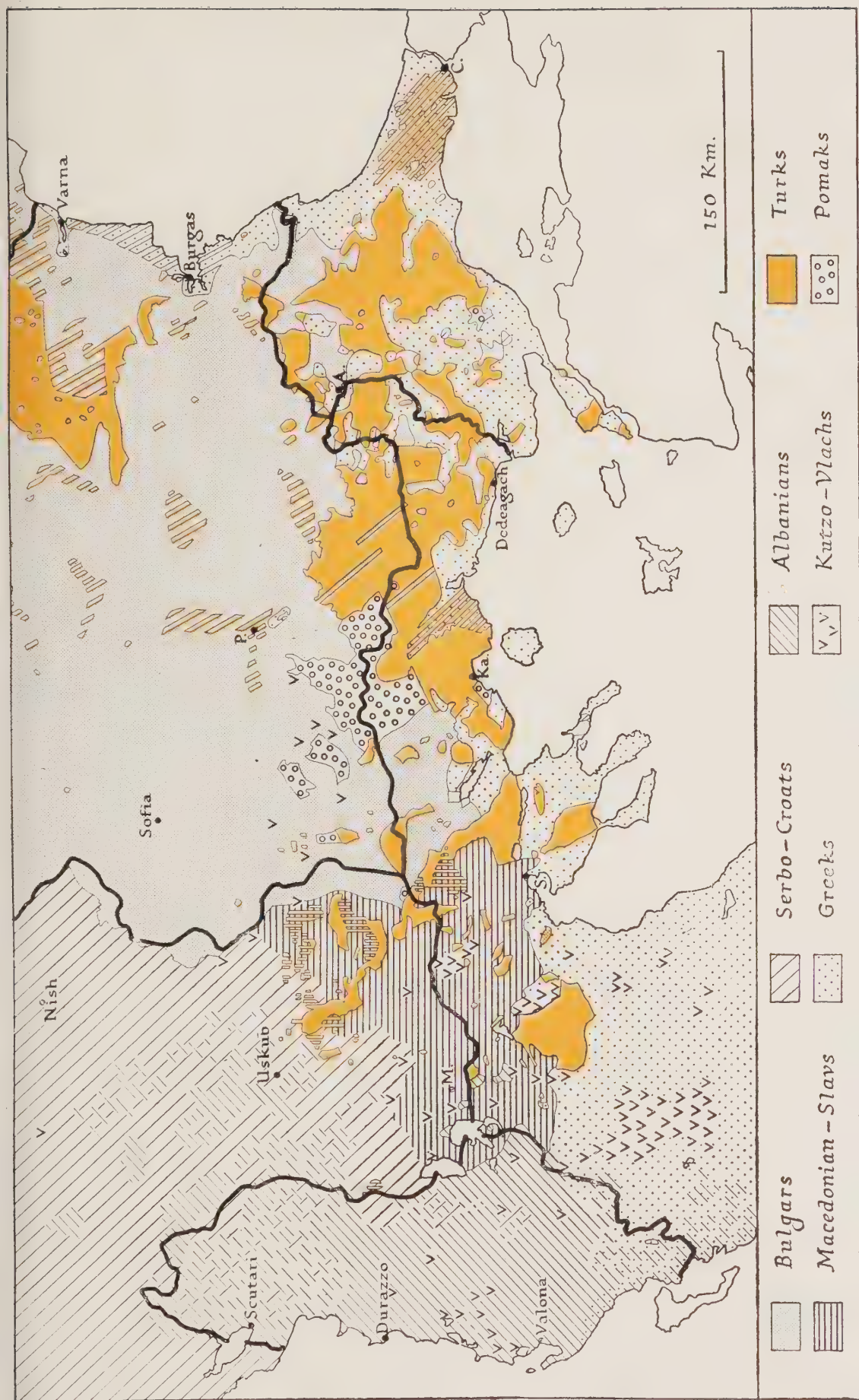


Fig. 34. A Serbian view of the ethnography of Macedonia and surrounding areas, 1913
 Based on J. Cvijić, 'Die ethnographische Abgrenzung der Völker auf der Balkanhalbinsel', *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, vol. lix, pp. 113-18 (Gotha, 1913).
 The pre-1914 international frontiers are shown.
Abbreviations: A. Adrianople; C. Constantinople; Ka. Kavalla; M. Monastir; P. Plovdiv; S. Salonica.

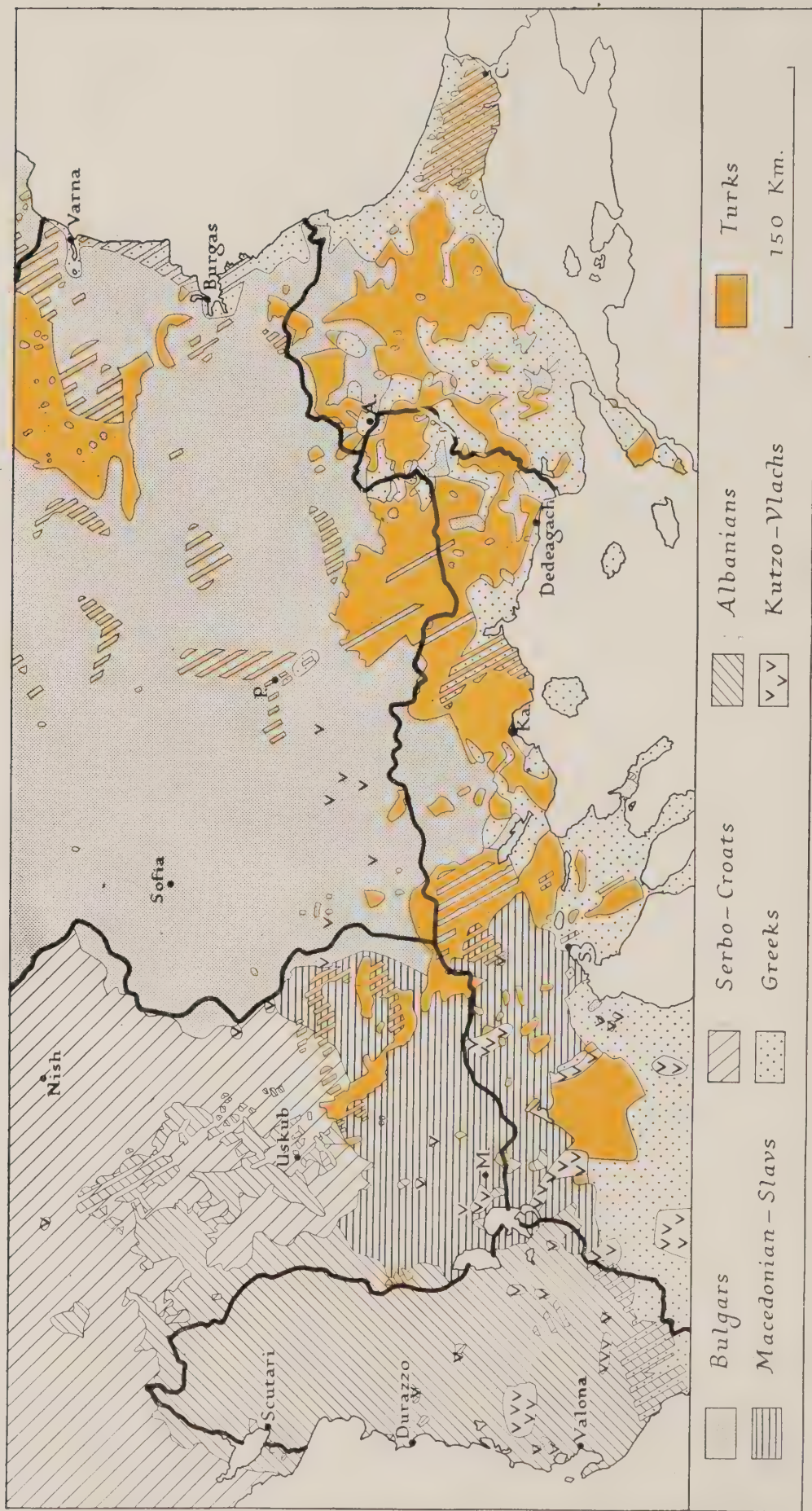


Fig. 35. A British view of the ethnography of Macedonia and surrounding areas, 1918
 Based on 1 : 1,500,000, G.S.G.S. No. 3703A, *South-east Europe : Ethnographical Map (1918)*.
 The pre-1914 international frontiers are shown.
 Abbreviations: A. Adrianople; C. Constantinople; Ka. Kavalla; M. Monastir; P. Plovdiv; S. Salonica.

growth of Slav political sentiment in the Balkans, the latter interested in pan-Slavism and the control of the 'Straits'. Thus the decline of the Turkish empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries not only gave scope for the rising nationalities of the Balkans but also provided an opportunity for the interference of the greater Powers

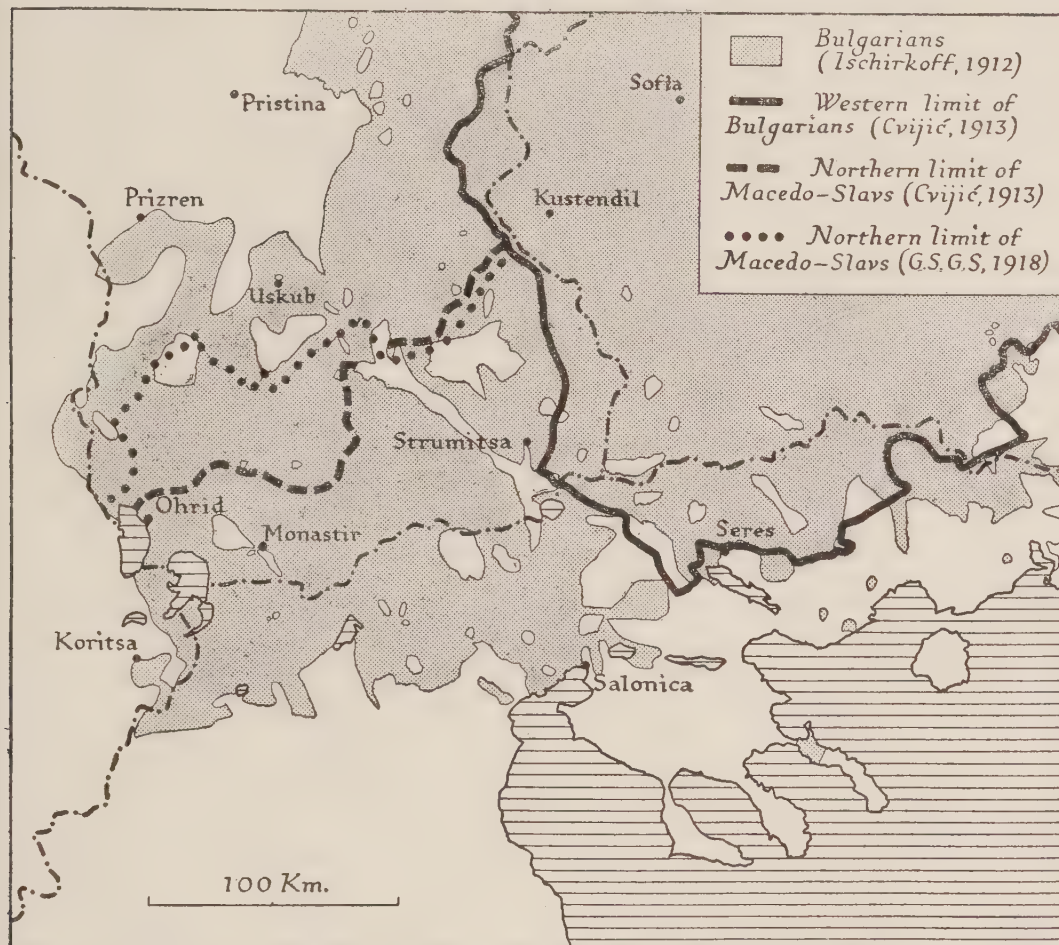


Fig. 36. Conflicting interpretations of ethnic distributions in Macedonia, 1912-20

Based on (i) A. Ischirkoff, 'Ethnographische Karte des Bulgarentums auf der Balkanhalbinsel in Jahre 1912', *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, vol. LXI, pp. 339-43 (Gotha, 1915); (ii) J. Cvijić, 'Die ethnographische Abgrenzung der Völker auf der Balkanhalbinsel', *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, vol. LIX, pp. 113-18 (Gotha, 1913); (iii) *South-east Europe: Ethnographical map*, G.S.G.S. No. 3703a (1918).

intent on maintaining a balance of power in Europe. As Czar Nicholas I, speaking of Turkey to the British ambassador at St Petersburg in 1853, said: 'We have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements are made'.

Composed thus of rival peoples and subjected to conflicting interests, Macedonia has been described as the quintessence of the

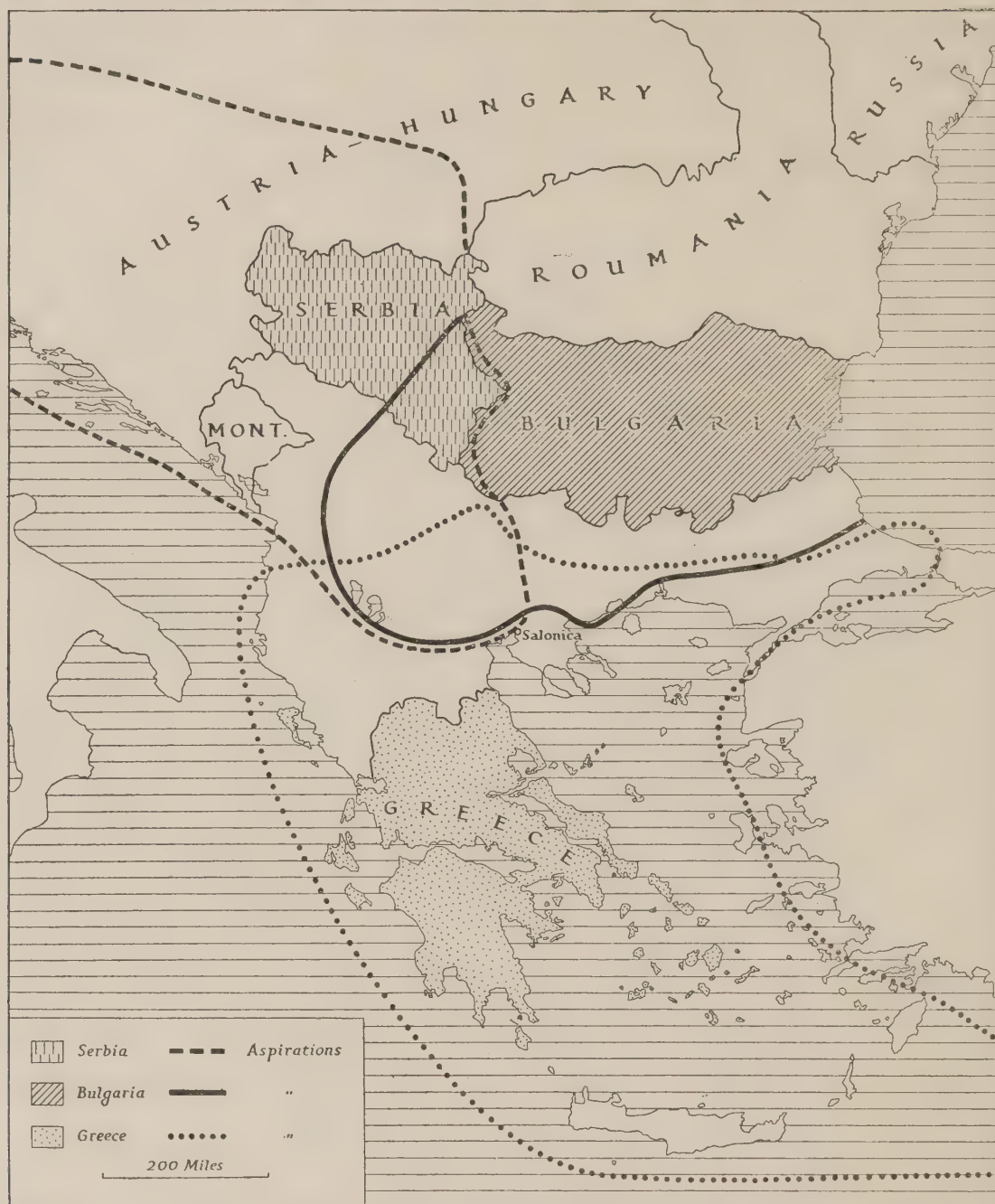


Fig. 37. Conflicting claims in Macedonia, 1912

The original of this schematic map appeared in P. Dehn, *Die Völker Südeuropas und ihre politischen Probleme* (Halle, 1909). Dehn, however, did not extend the Serbian claim into the Greek sphere. The map as redrawn by Oakes and Mowat brings the Serbian claim in 1912 to the south of Monastir—A. Oakes and R. B. Mowat, *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 315 (Oxford, 1918).

Balkan problem, for here most of the different elements that made up the 'Eastern Question' came together.

The Medieval Empires to 1430

The medieval history of Macedonia is of importance in any study of the later Macedonian Problem because memories of Byzantine,

Bulgarian and Serbian control of the area survived, to be caught up in the modern policies of the Balkan states. The coming of the Turk in the fifteenth century, it is true, stifled the rivalries of the Christian powers; but, with the decline of the Turkish empire in the nineteenth century, overlapping claims in Macedonia once more leaped into prominence. The Byzantine empire had left a tradition of Greek civilization and culture; while the medieval Bulgarian and Serbian empires also bequeathed historic claims that helped to inflame the rivalries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Arrival of the Slavs. With the final partition of the Roman empire in A.D. 395, Macedonia passed under the control of the East Roman or Byzantine empire. But during the sixth century the Danube frontier of the empire broke down, and Slavs began to raid southwards into Balkan lands. In 597, and again in 609, Salonica was besieged by surrounding Slav tribes in Macedonia. Raiding soon passed into settlement. It was convenient for Byzantine diplomats to speak of the lands occupied by Slavs in Thrace, Macedonia and Greece as grants made through the generosity of the emperor; and the frontier might be placed either at the Danube or at no great distance from the Aegean Sea according to the imperial or the Slav point of view. Despite the recovery of control made by the empire, the arrival of the Slavs had wrought a great ethnographical change in the Balkans. So widespread were their settlements that much of the Balkan lands, including mainland Greece, became known by the eighth century as 'Sclavinia'; there is also reference to 'Macedonian Slavonia' (Fig. 47).

The First Bulgarian Empire. To the north, the Bulgars, coming from the steppe-lands, had established themselves about 679 in the area south of the Danube. Here they found a land already peopled by Slavs, and the new state that came into being was the result of fusion between Bulgars and Slavs. The two centuries following 679 were marked by intermittent warfare with the Byzantine emperors. Under Simeon the Great (893-927), the Bulgar state extended its frontiers far to the west—over Macedonia to within sight of the Adriatic Sea. The Byzantine emperor was able to keep only the coastlands in Macedonia and Epirus (Fig. 19). But the Bulgarian realm soon broke into two owing to revolt in the western provinces. In 922, eastern Bulgaria came to an end; and by 1018 the western half, after a revival under Samuel (976-1014), was also recovered by the Byzantine empire. The Bulgarian patriarchate, set up in Ohrid, now fell, and Macedonia once again became a Greek province.

Byzantine Control, 1018–1186. Byzantine authority in Macedonia remained unimpaired for over a century and a half after 1018 (Fig. 19). The emperors tried to strengthen their position by introducing Asiatic colonists. Some Turks, later known as Vardariotes, had been settled in the neighbourhood of Salonica in the ninth century; and, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, colonies of Uzes, Patzinaks and Cumans were introduced.

The Second Bulgarian Empire. From 1018 to 1186 Bulgaria had no existence as a separate state, but in the latter year a revolt headed by Vlachs and Bulgars, coupled with the growing weakness of the Byzantine empire, led to the establishment of a second Bulgarian empire. The new state spread over an area almost as wide as that of its predecessor, and it included northern and central Macedonia. Only the southern coastlands were left to the Byzantine Greeks (Fig. 19). But the second empire was short-lived. By 1258, Bulgaria had shrunk to a small state, and the Byzantine rulers were once more in control of the whole of Macedonia.

The Confusion after the Fourth Crusade. To the south of Bulgaria, however, the Byzantine power had undergone a great set-back before 1258. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, southern Macedonia became, for a few years, part of the Latin kingdom of Salonica which stretched into Thessaly. Then after 1223, it was part of a Greek despotat of Epirus until, in 1246, it was back again under Byzantine control. And so it remained until the rise of Serbia under the Nemanjid dynasty.*

The Serbian Empire. With the expansion of the Serbs in the fourteenth century, almost the whole of Macedonia passed under the control of Stephen Dušan (see p. 86). In 1346 he was crowned at Skoplje and soon took the title of 'Emperor and Autocrat of the Serbs and Greeks, the Bulgarians and Albanians'. Although the Serb empire fell apart so quickly after the death of Dušan in 1355, its glory was kept alive through later centuries by the ballads and folk traditions of the Serbs. For a time after 1355, various Serb chieftains held large tracts of Macedonia, but already the destiny of the Balkan lands was passing into other hands. After the battle of Kosovo in 1389, the greater part of Macedonia was secured in Turkish possession. Salonica, it is true, was an exception, but in 1423 its Greek rulers sold it to Venice. After some vicissitudes, it was finally taken by the Turks in 1430, and held by them until 1912.

* For the complications of these years, see the N.I.D. Handbook on *Greece*, vol. 1, pp. 167 *et seq.*

The Turkish Régime

The Turks who now came into the country in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries fell mainly into two categories—landowners and peasants. Large tracts of land were distributed among the Ottoman chiefs, and these feudal landowners or *begs*, with their large farms (*čifliki*) were to be found everywhere. The Turkish peasantry was concentrated in fairly well-marked areas (Fig. 48), and they included the descendants of shepherds from the district of Konia in Asia Minor who were settled here even before 1360, and who became known as Konariotes. In addition to these main groups, there were also Turkish officials and military colonists established at strategic points. Finally, the Moslem element included the Albanians of western Macedonia who adopted the faith of the conquerors.

The general conditions of life were similar to those of the Turkish régime in Serbia (see p. 91). The circumstances of the Christian population deteriorated with the decline of the central power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Towards the end of the eighteenth century many of the local governors became practically independent; thus western Macedonia fell under the control of Ali Pasha of Janina while Ismail Bey at Seres established a benevolent despotism of his own. With the nineteenth century came attempts at reform by the central government. In 1839 came the Hatt-i-Sherif, a decree which even went so far as to proclaim the equality of races and religions within the empire. But these proposals, and those of 1856 and 1864, brought no relief to the local populations of the empire. The Macedonians—Christian and Moslem alike—continued to suffer from the lack of an effective central administration and from the rapacity of local officials. The impact of rising national feeling among the Balkan peoples upon this inefficiency was to develop with dramatic consequences before the century was over.

The Bulgarian Exarchate, 1870-72

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the dormant nationality of the Bulgarians began to awake and manifest itself in the form of a literary and educational revival. The first printed work in the vernacular appeared in 1824, and the first school in which the Bulgarian language was taught was founded at Gabrovo in 1835. During the next ten years some fifty Bulgarian schools came into existence, and five Bulgarian printing presses were set up. This increasing Bulgarian self-consciousness led inevitably to a reaction against Greek influence. The privileged position of the

Greek clergy under the Ottoman régime was tending as much as the temporal power of the Turks to destroy Bulgarian nationality, especially after the abolition of the patriarchates of Peć and Ohrid in the eighteenth century (see p. 97). The supporters of the new literary movement recognized that their real enemy was the ecclesiastical ascendancy of the Greek patriarchate at Constantinople.

Some of the Bulgarian leaders even went so far, about the year 1860, as to negotiate with Rome for the establishment of a Bulgarian Uniate Church (i.e. Orthodox in rites but Roman in allegiance). Every effort was made to reduce the influence of the Greek clergy appointed to Bulgarian sees, and there was a series of insurrectionary movements. After much controversy, the Turkish government granted ecclesiastical autonomy to the Bulgarians by creating a separate Bulgarian Church under an exarch resident, like the patriarch, at Constantinople. Its jurisdiction extended over the greater part of the vilayet of the Danube, and included the towns of Niš and Pirot, afterwards transferred to Serbia by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. Moreover, it was arranged that other areas might pass under the authority of the exarch if two-thirds of their inhabitants so wished (Fig. 38). The election of the first exarch was delayed until February 1872 owing to the opposition of the patriarch who immediately excommunicated the new ecclesiastical authority and his followers.

This ecclesiastical liberation was followed by great educational activity, and Macedonia became the battleground for rival patriarchist and exarchist propaganda. These literary and ecclesiastical aspirations in turn were but a prelude to wider political ambitions as the Bulgarian movement gained ground.

The Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin, 1878

The insurrection in Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1875 aroused excitement throughout the Balkans. There were widespread fears of Turkish reprisals against all the Christians, and the Bulgarians attempted to anticipate Turkish action by rising in revolt themselves (May 1876). The rebels were suppressed with great severity by irregular troops. The Pomaks (Bulgarian Moslems) in particular massacred men, women and children without discrimination, and the report of these 'Bulgarian atrocities' aroused horror throughout Europe.*

* This was the occasion of Mr Gladstone's pamphlet, *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (1876), in which occurred the famous sentences: 'Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—namely by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned.'

The situation in the Balkans soon became more complicated. In June–July, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey; and an attempt of the Great Powers to impose reforms upon the Turkish administration proved unsuccessful. In April 1877, Russia declared war; Roumania, too, lent aid; and, in March 1878, the Turks were



Fig. 38. The Bulgarian Exarchate, 1870–1912

Based on D. Rizoff, *Die Bulgaren in ihren historischen, ethnographischen und politischen Grenzen*, map 31 (Berlin, 1917).

It is interesting to compare this with Fig. 27 showing the limits of Bulgaria as proposed by the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, and with Fig. 33 showing the linguistic limits of Bulgarians according to a Bulgarian source.

forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. Amongst other things, this proposed the creation of a very large autonomous Bulgarian state under Turkish suzerainty (Fig. 27). The new state extended over almost the whole of Macedonia and part of Thrace, and corresponded roughly with the wide extent of the Bulgarian exarchate. It is interesting to note that the treaty-makers had before them an ethnographic map of the Balkans by the German geographer Kiepert (May 1876). This showed a great westward extension of Bulgars, and the new frontiers appeared to be in agreement with the known

ethnographic facts. Many maps, both before and after that of Kiepert, show a similar westward extension of Bulgarian-speaking peoples, but, on the other hand, this has been disputed again and again.*

Whatever the ethnographic facts, the work of San Stefano was not to remain. Britain and Austria intervened, and within a few months the Treaty of Berlin had re-disposed Balkan affairs (13 July). Article 23 of the new treaty promised reform and reorganization in European Turkey. Moreover, 'Greater Bulgaria', which it was feared would be subservient to Russia, was diminished, and Macedonia remained Turkish (Fig. 27). But despite these new changes, the Treaty of San Stefano was of great importance. It came to constitute a charter for the Bulgarian claim to Macedonia. What is more, the Bulgarian exarchate was left unimpaired, and Bulgarian schools and churches now set out to redeem the outlying territory that had seemed to become, even if only for a few months, an integral part of the Bulgarian state.

Propaganda and Terrorism, 1878-1908

Churches and Schools. The creation of a Bulgarian principality in 1878, and the union of this with eastern Rumelia in 1885, greatly increased the importance of the Bulgarian exarchate. In 1891, under the Bulgarian prime minister, Stambuloff, the Macedonian sees of Ohrid and Skoplje received Bulgarian bishops; in 1894, those of Veles and Nevrokop; and in 1898, those of Monastir (Bitolj), Strumica and Dibra (Debar). Bulgarian propaganda also made progress in Macedonia during these years through the establishment of Bulgarian schools. The Serbs and Vlachs were under the double disadvantage of being late in the field, and of lacking a separate ecclesiastical organization covering Macedonia.

At the Treaty of Berlin, the Serbs had claimed 'Old' Serbia (including Skoplje), but this had been opposed by Austria-Hungary. In 1881, however, the secret treaty between King Milan of Serbia and Austria-Hungary promised that Serbia would discourage Serbian agitation in Bosnia in return for Austro-Hungarian support of Serbian claims southward, i.e. towards Macedonia (see p. 109). Despite the difficulties of the Obrenović régime, Serb influence advanced rapidly in Macedonia after 1890, and the Serbian government went to considerable expense to open and maintain schools.

* See the discussion by J. Cvijić, 'Remarques sur l'Ethnographie de la Macédoine', *Annales de Géographie*, vol. xv, p. 115 (Paris, 1906).

A great step forward was made in 1902, when the Turks allowed the appointment of a Serb as bishop of Skoplje. Nor were the Roumanians inactive in their support of the Vlachs. In 1886 a Roumanian school was founded at Monastir, and others soon followed, being supported by funds from Bucharest. In 1905, too, the Vlachs were recognized by the creation of a Vlach bishopric at Monastir. Statistics are notoriously dubious in Macedonia, but by 1900 there seems to have been upwards of 800 Bulgarian schools and about 180 Serb schools in the three vilayets of Kosovo, Monastir and Salonica; while Greek figures for 1901 claimed over 900 schools in the vilayets of Monastir and Salonica.*

These rival educational activities sometimes resulted in anomalous situations. 'The passion for education is strong,' wrote H. N. Brailsford in 1906, 'and the various propagandas pander eagerly to it. If a father cannot contrive to place all his sons in a secondary school belonging to the race which he himself affects, the prospect of a bursary will often induce him to plant them out in rival establishments. It is, of course, a point of honour that a boy who is educated at the expense of one or other of these peoples must himself adopt its language and nationality. The same process is at work among the villages. I remember vividly my amazement when I encountered this phenomenon during my first visit to Macedonia.'† Thus it sometimes happened that a 'Greek' father had 'Bulgarian', 'Serbian', and 'Roumanian' children.

Terrorist Activities. Educational competition was not the only feature of Macedonian life during these years. In the 1890's there appeared a number of secret societies aiming at revolution against the Turk. The relation between the different societies are not always clear, for their activities were disturbed by rivalries and disputes among themselves. One body of opinion aimed at securing Macedonian autonomy, and attempted to gain support for a policy of 'Macedonia for the Macedonians'. This seems to have been the object of the 'Internal Organization' founded in 1893 at the village of Resana between Monastir (Bitolj) and Ohrid. Its influence grew rapidly, and it soon divided Macedonia into districts, each with its own officials. It attempted unsuccessfully to gain the support of all the Christian population, but the idea of autonomy was, of course,

* These figures are based on those of (1) *Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*, p. 27 (Carnegie Endowment, Washington, 1914); (2) *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article on 'Macedonia', vol. xvii, p. 219 (11th edition, Cambridge, 1911).

† H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and their Future*, p. 102 (London, 1906).

held in suspicion by Greeks and Serbs who felt that such autonomy might only end in Bulgarian predominance; the union of eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria in 1885 was too recent to be forgotten.

Other groups had more definite Bulgarian aspirations, and the 'Supreme Macedo-Adrianopolitan Committee' formed at Sofia in 1895 found many supporters, for there were large numbers of people of Macedonian origin living in Bulgaria; indeed it has been estimated that one-half of the population of Sofia was of Macedonian extraction. This Committee had its own newspapers and its own deputies in the Bulgarian parliament; and it made the Macedonian question one of the chief political issues in Bulgaria. It armed its supporters, and accumulated stores of ammunition in the mountainous country along the Macedonian frontier. These activities frequently embarrassed Bulgarian foreign policy, but popular sentiment was usually too strong for any Bulgarian government to take effective action against the irregular warlike preparations within its realm. Within a short time, 'incidents' began to multiply as different bands of raiders (*comitadjis*) crossed the frontier into Macedonia to wage guerilla warfare against the Turks.

The progress of the Bulgarian cause in Macedonia was viewed with great alarm by the other Christians of the Balkans. The Greeks in particular were fearful lest Macedonia be lost for Hellenism, and in 1894 the secret patriotic society of the *Ethniké Hetaerea* was founded. One of its principal aims was the promotion of Greek influence in Macedonia, and the preparation of an insurrectionary movement; and, in 1896, it sent numerous armed bands into the southern part of the area. The outbreak of the Greco-Turkish war over the question of Crete in 1897 seemed a favourable opportunity for rallying the Christian cause against the Turk, but concerted action was prevented by mutual jealousy and by the interference of Russia and Austria who aimed at preserving the *status quo*.

In the years following 1897, the condition of Macedonia went from bad to worse; in that year the Turks had accidentally come across a Bulgarian store of arms at Vinica in the vilayet of Kosovo, and, after this, repressive methods became more severe. On the other hand, Bulgarian and Greek irregular troops disturbed the life of the countryside. They raided not only the Turk but also one another, and each raid produced reprisals. 'A word from a Greek bishop would often condemn a whole Bulgarian hamlet to the flames. A Bulgarian band, descending by night upon a hostile village to murder a spy-priest and to burn his house, was not always careful

to save his widow and her children from the conflagration.’* The Serbs, too, complained of villages depopulated or destroyed. The Albanian area was the scene of feuds and disorders. In short, each group had its own heroes and its own victims. The Turks meanwhile attempted to play one group against another. None of the reforms stipulated in Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin was carried out. In the autumn of 1901, conditions in Macedonia gained world-wide notoriety when an American missionary, Miss Stone, was captured by a Bulgarian band, and ransomed for £T16,000.

In the autumn of 1902 there occurred a rising stimulated by incursions of Bulgarian bands over the border; but it came to nothing, and was followed by ruthless Turkish reprisals. The Porte attempted to anticipate foreign interference by a scheme for reform, and Hilmi Pasha was appointed Inspector-General of the three vilayets of Kosovo, Monastir and Salonica (December 1902). But Russia and Austria were now prepared to interfere and, in February 1903, they proposed a series of administrative, financial and police reforms that included the employment of foreign officers to reorganize the gendarmerie. All these proposals did but little to improve the condition of the area. It is true that the Bulgarian government, under pressure from Russia, dissolved the Macedonian Committee in Bulgaria, but the Internal Organization continued its preparations for deliverance. In April, a series of bomb outrages took place, culminating in the blowing up of the Ottoman Bank at Salonica. There were raids and skirmishes elsewhere, and, on 2 August, the general unrest broke out into revolt in the vilayet of Monastir and into sporadic risings elsewhere. The rebels achieved some brief success; but by the end of September they had been overcome. As winter drew upon them, some 60,000 peasants remained homeless refugees in the mountains. The confusion of the year was increased by disturbances among the Albanians of ‘Old Serbia’, who had been steadily gaining ground in the region since 1878 (Fig. 45). They now rose in revolt in March, fearing interference with their freedom, and had to be pacified partly by force and partly by concessions.

The Münzsteg Programme. The Great Powers had in the meantime been considering ways and means of forcing reform upon the Sultan, and, in October 1903, Austria and Russia issued a second set of proposals known as the ‘Münzsteg Programme’ from the place, near Vienna, where they were signed. This was accepted by the sultan, and, as a result, two ‘civil agents’—Austrian and Russian—

* H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and their Future*, p. 130 (London, 1906).

were attached to the Inspector-General, Hilmi Pasha. Moreover, the greater part of the area was divided up for police purposes into five sectors, each under the control of a different power; the British took Drama; the French, Seres; the Italians, Monastir; the Austrians, Skoplje; and the Russians, Salonica. In 1905, on the proposal of the British government, some further changes were made, and a Financial Commission was established to help the civil agents put the finances of the area upon a satisfactory basis.

But all these attempts at reform proved a failure, partly owing to the lack of effective co-operation from the Turkish authorities, and partly because of the rivalries ablaze within the area. 'Exarchists' and 'Patriarchists' still continued to murder one another. Greek bands (composed largely of Cretans) raided in the south; the Serbs renewed activity in the north; while the Bulgarians resisted all newcomers, and chaos reigned complete. European intervention was proving a complete failure.

In January 1908, Austria announced a project for building a new railway through the sanjak of Novi Pazar to connect up with the Turkish terminus at Mitrovica, thus uniting Vienna and Salonica. As a result of Russian counter-proposals, the scheme was dropped, but the whole incident was indicative of the conflict of interests between the two powers. At this time, too, the Anglo-Russian *rapprochement* led to the 'Reval Programme' issued when Edward VII visited Nicholas II at the Baltic port in June 1908. It aimed at more effective European supervision in Macedonia; but, before any action could be taken, affairs in the Turkish empire had taken a completely new turn.

The 'Young Turks', 1908-12

Meanwhile, the Turkish régime had enemies within its ranks. A secret 'Committee of Union and Progress', the so-called 'Young Turks', had long been planning a revolt among the officers of the Turkish army. The Committee was originally formed at Geneva in 1891. It had then moved to Paris, and finally to Salonica. The revolt against the despotism of Sultan Abdul Hamid started at Resana, between Monastir and Ohrid, in July 1908; and, by the following April, the sultan had been deposed. There were great scenes of enthusiasm in Macedonia. One of the Young Turk leaders, Enver Bey, declared, 'Henceforth we are all brothers. There are no longer Bulgars, Greeks, Rumans, Jews, Moslems; under the same blue sky we are all equal, we glory in being Ottomans'. For

a short time there was fraternization among the peoples of Macedonia. Serbs and Bulgars walked together in processions with Turks. The Great Powers decided to abolish the international control; the officers of the gendarmerie left the country; the Finance Commission was withdrawn; and the Reval Programme was not put into operation.

But this promise of peace in Macedonia did not last long. The Greeks, in particular, had always been suspicious. The Young Turks proved to be violently nationalistic, and the so-called equality of races was found to mean nothing other than centralization and the merging of all differences into one Ottoman régime. By the summer of 1910, the old hatred between Moslems and Christians was as fierce as ever. Macedonia was once more the scene of pillaging and murder, as the Christian population recoiled before the 'Ottomanization' of the empire.

It was under these conditions that signs of better relations among the Balkan states became evident. Soon, came a series of alliances that marked a triumph over long years of distrust. On 13 March 1912, Serbia and Bulgaria concluded a treaty of alliance in which they defined their respective claims in Macedonia (see p. 114); a military convention followed on 12 May. A month or so later, a treaty was signed between Greece and Bulgaria (29 May 1912), and this was also followed by a military agreement on 22 September. Montenegro was likewise in negotiation with Bulgaria and Greece, and in September she signed a treaty with Serbia. The whole group of these arrangements is sometimes collectively described as the 'Balkan League'. The Turks at this time were weakened by their war with Italy, and the moment seemed ripe for intervention.

The immediate outbreak of war between the Balkan states and Turkey was forced by the condition of Macedonia, and in particular by a revolt of Albanians. In 1909, they had risen in Kosovo, Metohija, and adjoining regions, against the threat of increased taxation, disarmament and a census. The rebellion was suppressed by the Turkish army, only to break out again in 1911. In August 1912 the rebels captured Skoplje (Üsküb) and demanded autonomy and the cession of large areas including the vilayets of Monastir and Kosovo. These disturbances weakened the Turkish government and also greatly alarmed the neighbouring states who viewed a possible 'Greater Albania' as a threat to their own interests in Macedonia. In September, the states of the 'Balkan League' appealed to the Great Powers for immediate reforms in Macedonia, but the result was only an ultimatum urging peace and promising reform. By this

time, tension had increased to breaking-point, and Montenegro declared war on 8 October. The other three states, on the 14th, presented an ultimatum to the sultan demanding radical changes and the enforcement of Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin. Faced with this, the sultan declared war on Bulgaria and Serbia on 17 October, and on the following day Greece declared war on Turkey.

The Balkan Wars, 1912-13

The amazing success of the Balkan allies astounded Europe. Within a few months, the Turkish forces had collapsed, and the Treaty of London (30 May 1913) ceded to the Balkan allies the greater part of the Turkish domain in Europe (Fig. 30). But success brought its own seeds of disaster. Bulgaria and Serbia could not agree upon the division of the spoil (see p. 114), and the result was the Second Balkan War of June-July. Serbia and Greece, supported by Montenegro and Roumania, were victorious. The Treaty of Bucharest partitioned Macedonia to the great advantage of Serbia and Greece, while Bulgaria was excluded from her 'promised land' (Fig. 31).

Two groups of problems then faced the Serbians in their occupation of their part of Macedonia—economic and political; those facing

Estimates of the Population of the Vilayets of Kosovo, Monastir and Salonica

From J. Cvijić, *Questions balkaniques*, p. 80 (?1917, Paris and Neuchâtel).

	Serbian view, 1889	Bulgarian view, 1900	Greek view, 1889	German view, 1905
Turks	231,400	489,664	576,600	250,000
Bulgars	57,600	1,184,036	—	—
Serbs	2,048,320	700	—	—
Macedo-Slavs	—	—	454,700	2,000,000
Greeks	201,140	225,152	656,300	200,000
Albanians	165,620	124,211	—	300,000
Vlachs	74,465	77,267	41,200	100,000
Other	101,875	147,244	91,700	—
Total	2,880,420	2,248,274	1,820,500	2,850,000

The sources are as follows:

- (1) *Serbian view*—S. Gopčević, *Bevölkerungsstatistik von Altserbien und Makedonien* (Wien, 1899).
- (2) *Bulgarian view*—V. Kančev, *Macedonia: Ethnography and Statistics*—in Bulgarian (Sofia, 1900).
- (3) *Greek view*—C. Nicolaides, *Makedonien* (Berlin, 1899).
- (4) *German view*—K. Oestreich, 'Die Bevölkerung von Makedonien,' *Geographische Zeitschrift*, vol. XI, p. 292 (Leipzig, 1905); these figures are only an estimate.

Greeks were very similar. The economic problem was the revival of production in a land long neglected by its Turkish governors, and then disturbed by irregular raiding, and devastated by warfare. Rivers were unembanked; marshes were undrained; great stretches of cultivable land lay waste or were tilled only by the most primitive methods; large numbers of refugees were homeless. On the other hand, the new territories were potentially rich. The fertile plains of Kosovo and Monastir and the basin of the middle Vardar were ready for the plough. Moreover, the mineral wealth of the new Serbian lands was considerable, and had lain almost unworked since the Turkish conquest. Silver, lead, iron and manganese were only some of the metals awaiting exploitation. Finally, an outlet for the produce of the area through Salonica was promised by an agreement with Greece.

The other group of problems were political. The new territories included large numbers of Albanians and Macedo-Slavs. The former had a long tradition of restlessness behind them. Many of the latter had, since 1870, looked to Bulgaria as their spiritual guardian; their schools and churches were Bulgarian. Now, in 1913, the task that faced the Serbian government was that of conciliating this heterogeneous population among which racial hatreds ran high; while across the frontier lay Bulgaria brooding over what she regarded as her unjust treatment. But before these problems—economic and political—could be tackled, the war of August 1914 broke upon Europe. In 1915, Macedonia, for the third time in four years, became the scene of Balkan conflict.

THE JUGOSLAVS IN 1914

Though the 'Illyrian Provinces' had so quickly passed away with the defeat of Napoleon, the possibility of some union among the various Southern Slav groups was never lost sight of during the nineteenth century. South Slav consciousness was fostered by the linguistic and literary work of Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) among the Serbs, and by that of Ljudevit Gaj (1809–72) and Bishop Strossmayer (1815–1905) among the Croats. Moreover, the disciples of Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844) among the Slovenes were making closer contacts with the Croats and with the Yugoslav movement in general. But this growing feeling of common nationality had many difficulties to contend with, and the ultimate union of all the Southern Slavs was far from being a foregone conclusion. They were scattered among so many different political and administrative units which made concerted action difficult (see table on p. 134). The various

Estimate of Yugoslav Population in 1914

The figures are only very approximate estimates. They are based on the Austrian and Hungarian censuses of 1910, supplemented by information in *Peace Handbooks: vol. iv, The Balkan States*, part ii, no. 20. 'Serbia,' p. 9 (H.M.S.O., London, 1920).

A. Attached to Austria

Dalmatia	Serbo-Croats, 611,000
Carniola	Slovenes, 491,000
Styria	Slovenes, 410,000
Carinthia	Slovenes, 82,000
Küstenland	{ Slovenes, 267,000
	{ Serbo-Croats, 171,000

Made up as:

Trieste	{ Slovenes, 57,000
	{ Serbo-Croats, 2,000
Görz and Gradisca	Slovenes, 155,000
Istria	{ Slovenes, 55,000
	{ Serbo-Croats, 168,000

B. Attached to Hungary

Croatia-Slavonia	{ Serbs, 645,000
	{ Croats, 1,638,000
Vojvodina	{ Serbs, 382,000
	{ Croats, 7,000
	{ Bunjevci and Šokci, 63,000
Fiume	{ Slovenes, 2,000
	{ Serbo-Croats, 13,000
Rest of Hungary	{ Serbs, 79,000
	{ Croats, 186,000
	{ Slovenes, 70,000

C. Attached to Austria-Hungary

Bosnia and [Hercegovina]	{ Serbs, 825,000
	{ Croats, 400,000
	{ Moslem Serbo-Croats, 610,000

D. Serbia

Serbs	3,000,000
Macedo-Slavs	550,000

E. Montenegro

Serbs	250,000
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GRAND TOTAL	10,789,000
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units, too, had different historical backgrounds, and, not least, there was the antagonism between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox sections of the population. But, with the twentieth century, the Yugoslav ideal advanced by leaps and bounds. A variety of circumstances drew the Southern Slavs together, and affected both those within and those outside the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Fig. 39).

Within the Monarchy, the unconstitutional régime in Croatia, and the attempts to suppress the Croat language and nationality were

rapidly destroying any pro-Hungarian feeling among the Croat population. Some of the older generation, it is true, were still doubtful about an alliance with the Orthodox Serbs, but the leaders of the younger generation were avowedly in favour of breaking away



Fig. 39. Yugoslavia in relation to Austria-Hungary

Based on C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew, *An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, plates 21 and 40 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1924).
C. Carniola; K. Küstenland; S. Salzburg.

from Hungary. Croat feeling was reflected in Dalmatia, and the Resolutions of Fiume and of Zara (Zadar) in 1905 were signs that Roman Catholic-Orthodox antagonism was breaking down, or, at any rate, was being submerged in other issues. Even so, it must be remembered that both resolutions professed allegiance to Hungary provided that an autonomous Croatia-Dalmatia could be secured. The Catholic Slovenes and the Orthodox Serb peoples of south

Hungary were not such important groups, but here, too, the Austro-Hungarian régime was producing dissatisfaction and unrest that increased as the twentieth century went forward. Finally, in Bosnia the whole situation was unstable, and all sections of the population supported the demand for a greater measure of autonomy.

Among the Southern Slavs outside the Monarchy, the most important feature of the twentieth century was the change of régime in Serbia when the Karageorgević dynasty came once more to the throne (1903). The contrast between Serbian democracy and the alien rule of Austria and Hungary became all the more glaring. An increasing number of Southern Slavs now felt that any hope of liberation lay with Serbia, and the triumph of the Serbian armies in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 aroused great excitement throughout the South Slav world. The favourable Concordat made by Serbia with the Vatican in June 1914 helped, moreover, to allay Roman Catholic suspicions of Orthodox intolerance. The other independent state was Montenegro, and this, despite the dynastic rivalry of Nicholas and Peter, was, early in 1914, about to enter into the closest fiscal and diplomatic union with Serbia. Yugoslav ideas were in the air, and Serbia was accused of pan-Serb aspirations in the Balkans.

But the factors affecting the fate of the Southern Slavs inside the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy could not be separated from those affecting the Slavs without. There was an inevitable interaction between the domestic policy of Austria-Hungary towards the South Slavs within the Monarchy, and the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary towards the Southern Slavs outside. Serbia was not only the 'Guardian of the Gate' blocking expansion to the south-east, but she was also a 'Piedmont' that might do for the South Slavs what Savoy had done for Italy. Thus it was that the German-Austrian dream of economic penetration towards Turkey and beyond, became interlocked with the racial problem of the Dual Monarchy. The 'Eastern Question' or the 'Macedonian Problem' or the 'Germanic Threat' in Europe could not be separated from the 'South Slav Question' or the 'Croat Problem' in Austria-Hungary. With the outbreak of war in 1914, all the problems were put into a melting pot. Of the many possible solutions, four stood out, and they must be considered separately.

One possibility was the maintenance of the *status quo*, or of something very near to it. This was unlikely because the unrest among the Southern Slavs of the Monarchy was too general to be dealt with by repression; it is difficult to exterminate a whole

nationality. Moreover, to the south, the destruction of Serbian independence, even if it could have been achieved, would only have added to the intransigent elements already within the Monarchy.

A second possibility was the so-called Trialist solution. This, in various forms, envisaged the conversion of the Dual Monarchy into a Triple Monarchy by the grant of some autonomous status to the Southern Slavs, comparable with that of the Magyars. The Magyars, however, were bitterly opposed to an arrangement that would rob them of direct access to the sea through Croatia, and that might serve only to strengthen the position of the Austrian emperor at the expense of Magyar nationalist aspirations. It is true that many Austrian aristocratic and Catholic circles in Vienna were in favour of some kind of federalism along these lines, but, on the other hand, the German nationalists of Austria had no wish to see their own access to the Adriatic cut off by an autonomous Slovenia, or by the inclusion of Slovenia within an autonomous South Slav unit. The Serbs of the Monarchy, too, were afraid that this proposal might only end in Catholic Croat dominance. And the Serbians of the kingdom to the south could only be suspicious of any attempt to organize Southern Slavs within the Monarchy lest it might ultimately involve themselves or at any rate outbid the suggestion of union with Serbia.

A third possibility was that of 'Greater Serbia'. This pan-Serb solution, dear to the heart of the conservative 'Old Radical' party of Serbia, would have meant the inclusion of all the Orthodox elements among the Southern Slavs under one rule. To Serbia would be added Montenegro, southern Dalmatia, much of Bosnia and Hercegovina, eastern Croatia (Srem) and southern Hungary. Roman Catholics would thus have been excluded, and it was a scheme that was thought to have had the approval of Russia, which was anxious to identify the Slav cause with the Orthodox Church.

A fourth solution was the union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in a Yugoslav state. This would have meant the realization of the dream of the nineteenth-century idealists; and it would have carried forward to a logical conclusion the increasing *rapprochement* of Serb and Croat and Slovene during the twentieth century. But so many historic prejudices were against such a union; sheer inertia alone made it difficult to bring about. When war broke out in 1914, it still seemed an unlikely possibility to many people. Still, the seeds had been sown, and, as Baron Burian said, the war proved to be a 'hot-house for forcing plants'.

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- (4) J. Ancel, *La Macedoine* (Paris, 1930)—a geographical survey of the whole of Macedonia with much useful general material.
- (5) *Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (Carnegie Endowment, Washington, 1914)—presents some interesting material on the wars of 1912-13.

Chapter II

HISTORICAL OUTLINE—1914-41

The War of 1914-18: Main features of the War of 1914-18; The Treaty of London, 26 April 1915; The Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Committee; The break-up of Austria-Hungary; Negotiations at Paris and Geneva, 1918

The New State of 1918: The component parts; The Italian frontier; The Austrian frontier; The Hungarian frontier; The Roumanian frontier; The Bulgarian frontier; The Albanian frontier; A survey of the new state

The Democratic Experiment, 1919-29: Centralism versus Federalism; Party rivalries; Economic progress, 1919-29; The *Skupština* murders

The Royal Dictatorship, 1929-34: Government by decree, 1929-31; The Croat problem, 1929-31; The Constitution of 1931; Unrepresentative Government, 1931-2; The Growth of Opposition, 1932-3; The Economic Crisis, 1931-3; Foreign Affairs, 1932-4

The Regency, 1934-41: The legacy of King Alexander; The elections of May 1935; Problems of Federalism; The Concordat, 1937; Foreign Relations, 1934-8; The elections of December 1938; The *Sporazum*, August 1939; Prince Paul and the Axis, 1940

The Final Crisis, 1941: German intimidation; Prince Paul's motives; The *Coup d'Etat*; The Invasion

Bibliographical Note

THE WAR OF 1914-18

Main features of the war of 1914-18

The story of the Yugoslav contribution to the war of 1914-18 is too complicated to tell in detail, but certain trends of opinion and certain outstanding incidents in the war must be mentioned, however briefly, as essential clues to a right understanding of the Yugoslav problem to-day. The first and most decisive factor was the heroic Serbian army, which thrice drove the Austrians back across the frontier in 1914, and, after succumbing to superior Austrian, German and Bulgarian forces, made a great retreat over the Albanian snows. After an interval of recuperation at Corfu, it played an important part in holding the Salonica front and, supplemented by volunteer Yugoslav Legions, shared in the final Allied victory over Bulgaria. Without this heavy sacrifice of life (and Serbia and Montenegro probably lost not less than one out of five million souls), all political efforts would have been in vain.

The second tendency was entirely opportunist; the Serbo-Croat

Coalition in Zagreb continued to attend the joint parliament in Budapest and to profess loyalty to the Hungarian crown, and indeed attended the coronation of Charles IV, who succeeded his uncle, Francis Joseph, in 1916. It thus was able to husband Croatian resources and to maintain its autonomous institutions unimpaired till the end of the war, but it steadily declined to make any public disavowal of its colleagues abroad and maintained secret contacts with them, in the same way as did the Czech 'Maffia' with the Czech National Committee of Masaryk and Beneš.

Thirdly, there was parallel action among the Croats and Slovenes in Austria, and when the Austrian parliament was again allowed to meet in May 1917, their leaders in it, Monsignors Krek and Korošec, put forward an open claim for the union of the Yugoslav lands of the Monarchy in a single free state under the Hapsburg sceptre, of course suppressing any reference to the completion of that union by the addition of Serbia and Montenegro.

Finally, the Yugoslav Committee, consisting of over twenty fairly representative exiles from all the different provinces of the Monarchy (the most notable being Franjo Supilo, Ante Trumbić, the sculptor Meštrović and the advocate Hinković), made London its headquarters and put forward manifestoes claiming unity and independence and repudiating the Hapsburgs.

The Treaty of London, 26 April 1915

A serious complication was introduced by the Treaty of London of 26 April 1915, by which the Entente (Britain, France and Russia), in return for Italy's entry on their side, assigned to her wide territories in Gorizia, Carniola, Istria and Dalmatia, inhabited by an overwhelmingly Slovene and Croat population of not less than 700,000 (Fig. 40). A special clause reserved Fiume as the port of Croatia. The provisions of the Treaty, though a strictly guarded secret, were discovered by the Croat leader Supilo in conversation with the Russian Foreign Minister Sazonov in St Petersburg: and it became known that both Russia and the Serbian Premier Pašić—a man of narrowly Serb nationalist outlook—were inclined to leave the Catholic Croats and Slovenes to their fate, if the territory where the Serb and Orthodox population predominated could be secured for Serbia and, with it, ample access to the Adriatic. This caused a temporary revulsion of feeling in favour of Austria-Hungary; and the Yugoslavs in the Austrian army fought manfully against Italy, knowing that they were defending Slav soil against Italian aggression.

The supreme command on the Isonzo was given to Marshal Boroević, an Orthodox Serb belonging to one of the *Graničar* (Frontiersman) families long in Hapsburg service.



Fig. 40. The Treaty of London, 26 April 1915

Based on J. Bowman, *The New World*, pp. 350 and 358 (4th ed., New York, 1928). See Fig. 72 for comparison with the partition of 1941.

The Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Committee

By the winter of 1915 the conquest of Serbia, by Austrian, German and Bulgarian forces, once more closed the ranks of the Yugoslavs, whose sole hope lay in unity; but for the next eighteen months a deadlock ensued. The Russian Revolution and the entry of America weakened the position of the reactionary and pan-Serb Pašić, and his party split into Old Radicals and Young Radicals, the

latter demanding democratic institutions no less than national unity and equality. On 20 July 1917, the Declaration of Corfu was signed between Pašić as Serbian Premier, and Trumbić as President of the Yugoslav Committee in exile, and this may be called the birth certificate of the future Yugoslavia. It declared in favour of the union of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a single nation, under the Karageorgević dynasty: the new state was to be 'a constitutional democratic and parliamentary monarchy', with equality for the two alphabets, the three national names and flags and the three religions, with manhood suffrage in parliament and in the municipalities. The details were left to a future Constituent Assembly, and, in particular, the Declaration of Corfu left open the question whether the state should be centralized or federal (see p. 320).

During the following winter, after the disaster of Caporetto, Italian statesmen were in a more chastened frame of mind, and long negotiations, at first of an entirely informal and non-committal kind, were conducted in London between representative Italians (first General Mola, then Signor Torre) and the Yugoslav Committee under Trumbić. On the basis of an agreement between them, subsequently known as the 'Pact of Rome,' a 'Congress of the Oppressed Nationalities of Austria-Hungary' was held on 8 April 1918 at the Roman Capitol. Active propaganda was now started on the Austrian front, and this had a direct effect in blunting the point of the Austrian offensive on the Piave. The success of the Congress influenced President Wilson, who, during the summer, revised that one of the Fourteen Points which recommended 'autonomy' for the subject races, and now insisted upon Yugoslav and Czechoslovak unity as essential parts of his programme.

Unhappily, the increasing readiness of the Allied governments to recognize the Yugoslav idea was counterbalanced by the jealous, narrowly pan-Serb attitude of the Serbian Premier Pašić, in the teeth of strong opposition from the Young Radicals. At the same time that Mr Balfour accorded British recognition to the Czechoslovak National Council, he was willing to extend similar recognition to the Yugoslavs, if once the two groups (Serbian Government and Yugoslav Committee) could show their unanimity. But Pašić, on the contrary, dismissed his Ministers in Washington and London for espousing a Yugoslav programme, and when the war ended, agreement had still not been reached—with the result that the Italian government went back upon the Pact of Rome and demanded of the embarrassed Allies the fulfilment of the Treaty of London.

The Break-up of Austria-Hungary

Emboldened by the American endorsement of the Pact of Rome, Mgr Korošec had organized a Yugoslav National Council, openly aiming at national unity. Count Stephen Tisza's visit to Zagreb and Sarajevo, with the object of browbeating the Yugoslav leaders into a Magyar solution, ended in a complete fiasco. The strong Yugoslav element in the Austro-Hungarian fleet, which had staged a dangerous mutiny at Kotor in February 1918, showed signs of fresh revolutionary ferment, and in the first days of October emissaries of the Czech and Yugoslav revolutionary committees crossed the Adriatic with plans for a rising along the whole coast. If they had not been arrested, and prevented by the Italian authorities from communicating with Trumbić and Beneš for three valuable weeks, the fleet and the naval bases might well have been in the hands of the Entente a fortnight before the final Italian land offensive opened.

Meanwhile 'Green Bands' of armed deserters were forming everywhere, and when Bulgaria surrendered on 29 September, the authority of Vienna and Budapest rapidly crumbled throughout the Southern Slav provinces. The last straw was the correspondence between Austria-Hungary and President Wilson; when the news came that the latter made recognition of Yugoslav and Czechoslovak unity a condition of further negotiation, there were extraordinary scenes in every town, soldiers tearing off their badges and the crowd pulling down Austrian inscriptions and flags. National Councils sprang up everywhere, and the Central Council (*Narodno Vijeće*) under Mgr Korošec transferred itself from Ljubljana to Zagreb, strengthened itself by including representatives of all parties, and within a few days virtually became a Provisional Government for all the Southern Slav provinces of the Monarchy. The emperor's twelfth-hour proclamation of federalism fell on deaf ears; it was expressly limited to Austria alone, under a threat from the Hungarian government of stopping food supplies to well-nigh starving Vienna, and this made nonsense of the whole scheme, since neither Yugoslav, nor Czechoslovak, nor Roumanian, nor Ukrainian, nor even Polish unity could be achieved without drastic changes in the boundaries of Hungary.

On 29 October 1918, the Croatian Diet met, declared the Union with Hungary to be at an end, assumed control of Fiume, and handed over supreme authority in the new state to the National Council, which in its turn proclaimed the desire for union with Serbia

in a free and sovereign state—‘from the Isonzo to Salonica,’ called out a leading deputy amid general acclamation. Two days later, with the design of widening the growing rift between Jugoslavs and Italians, and doubtless also as something less galling than direct surrender, the emperor handed over the whole fleet to the new Yugoslav state. The Allies insisted on the surrender of these ships, and then made over the bulk of them to Italy, but not before a daring Italian officer had torpedoed the battleship *Viribus Unitis* in Pola harbour, with the Yugoslav admiral and crew on board. The situation in November was highly critical, and Zagreb was alarmed at the evident intention of the Italians to seize the territory assigned to her by the Treaty of London. On 18 November Italian troops did indeed occupy Fiume, which the Treaty of London had expressly reserved for Croatia; and the complete uncertainty of the whole situation stampeded the National Council into accepting union with Serbia and Montenegro, without waiting to impose conditions or make a bargain of any kind.

The proposal was carried with one dissentient vote, but this unhappily was that of Stephen Radić, the peasant leader, who declared the masses of his people to be opposed to centralism and militarism, and ‘for a Republic no less than for a national agreement with the Serbs.’ Meanwhile, on 1 December 1918, a delegation from Zagreb appeared before the Prince Regent Alexander in Belgrade and invited him to proclaim the union; the territorial name used in the Declaration of Corfu was adopted, and, on 4 December, ‘The Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes’ was proclaimed. In the meantime, in September and October 1918, the Montenegrins had risen against the Austrian occupation. A temporary national government was set up, hostile to King Nicholas who had fled to France in 1916. On 26 November 1918, an extremely irregularly convened National Assembly had met at Podgorica, deposed King Nicholas and his dynasty, and declared for Montenegro’s incorporation in Serbia.

A further instance of the general confusion was the fact that the Allies allowed General Diaz, the Italian Commander-in-Chief, to conclude in their name the armistice of 3 November with an Austria-Hungary which had already crumbled into its component parts. As he ignored all save the Western aspect of the problem, fresh armistice negotiations had to be held at Belgrade a week later between General Franchet d’Esperey and Count Károlyi as head of the revolutionary Hungarian Government; and this in its turn concentrated upon the Serbo-Magyar aspect, making no dispositions

with regard to Roumania and Slovakia, and thus gravely complicating the whole problem of the future Hungarian frontiers.

Negotiations at Paris and Geneva, 1918

The confusion of this initial period was increased by the fact that the Prince Regent was with his troops advancing northwards from the Salonica front to Belgrade after the surrender of Bulgaria on 29 September, while the Serbian government was in Paris and Corfu and had a strict monopoly of telegraphic communications. The delegates of the National Council in Zagreb—its President, Mgr Korošec, and Dr Čingrija, Mayor of Dubrovnik—reached Paris only to find a virtual rupture between Pašić and the Old Radicals on the one hand and the Yugoslav Committee, supported by the Young Radical Opposition (which had a paper majority in the *Skupština*) on the other hand. The leaders of the latter were actually threatening to start a Republican campaign, in the erroneous belief that the Crown Prince was a mere tool in the hands of Pašić.

Under strong French pressure a conference was held at Geneva between the three groups, and, on 9 November 1918, a Declaration was signed, constituting the new Yugoslavia 'from to-day as an indivisible state-unit,' the cabinet being composed of representatives of the two rival Serbian parties (Old and Young Radicals), of the Yugoslav Committee and of the Zagreb National Council. The governments of Belgrade and Zagreb were to retain their respective functions until a Constituent Assembly could meet and draft a new constitution for the whole country. But the Geneva decisions remained operative only on paper; the Prince Regent, when at last the true facts reached him, appointed Protić (who was with him in Belgrade) as Premier, Trumbić as Foreign Minister, and Pašić as principal delegate at the Peace Conference. Centralizing tendencies rapidly asserted themselves, in view of the dangers threatening from all sides; for the Entente governments, under pressure from Italy, withheld their recognition from the newly united state.

Thus did the various sections of the Yugoslav people rush into union, without any very clear idea of the lines on which it was to be worked out, and without any generally recognized bargain or contract. This affected the whole future development of the new state and still affects it to-day.

THE NEW STATE OF 1918

The component parts

The new Yugoslav state which came into existence between the Declaration of Zagreb on 29 October 1918 and the proclamation of 'the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' on 4 December, was constituted out of the following elements (Fig. 41):

1. The independent kingdom of Serbia.
2. The independent kingdom of Montenegro.
3. Croatia-Slavonia, hitherto possessing some measure of 'Home Rule' under Hungary.
4. Dalmatia, an Austrian province.
5. Carniola, part of Styria, a small corner of Carinthia and two small fragments of Istria—all these were former Austrian provinces.
6. Baranja, Bačka, and the western portion of the Banat, together with the districts of Prekomurje and Medjumurje—all formerly integral parts of Hungary.
7. Bosnia and Hercegovina, formerly administered jointly by Austria and Hungary.

In the period immediately following the cessation of hostilities, the consolidation of the kingdom was much impeded by the fact that the greater part of its frontiers remained unregulated and involved disputes with neighbouring states. In each area, one claim—ethnic, historic, economic or strategic—had to be set against another, and the result inevitably left dissatisfied minorities. The circumstances under which each of these frontiers was fixed must now be described in clock-wise order. Only with Greece was there no outstanding frontier problem to be settled.

The Italian frontier

Italo-Yugoslav relations in the closing period of the war rested upon the Torre-Trumbić agreement of March 1918, officially adopted at the 'Congress of Oppressed Nationalities' at Rome in the following month (see p. 144). But with the Armistice, Italy reverted to the basis of the Treaty of London by which she would have gained nearly three-quarters of a million Croats and Slovenes. The whole of 1919 was dominated by frontier disputes and above all by the Adriatic dispute at the Peace Conference, in which President Wilson actively intervened, on the advice of a number of able experts.

The French and British were in the awkward position of having promised to Italy territory which was not theirs to give, and of finding their obligation openly repudiated and condemned by America, as one of those secret treaties which her President wished to make impossible in the future. It must suffice to indicate certain landmarks of the two years' controversy. On 11 February 1919, the Yugoslavs



Fig. 41. The territorial formation of Yugoslavia

P. Prekomurje, and M. Medjumurje. Both these areas, like the Vojvodina, formed integral parts of the old kingdom of Hungary.

offered to submit to Wilson's arbitration, but this was rejected by Italy; and on 24 April the Italian statesmen withdrew temporarily from the Conference. On 16 April Italy had refused a plebiscite in the disputed zone, and the so-called 'Wilson Line' (assigning Gorizia, Trieste and Istria west of the river Arsa, but not Fiume, to Italy) was also rejected. Tardieu's scheme for a buffer state of Fiume was wrecked by d'Annunzio's seizure of the town, to which the Allies meekly submitted. For a whole year there was a deadlock, with proposals and counter-proposals to the Supreme Council, one more sterile than the other. The Italians awaited the expiry of Wilson's

term of office, and the Yugoslavs, seeing that no one would help them, ended by direct negotiations with the more moderate Giolitti-Sforza Cabinet.

The Treaty of Rapallo on 12 November 1920 gave to Italy nearly the whole of Istria, the watershed of the Julian Alps, together with

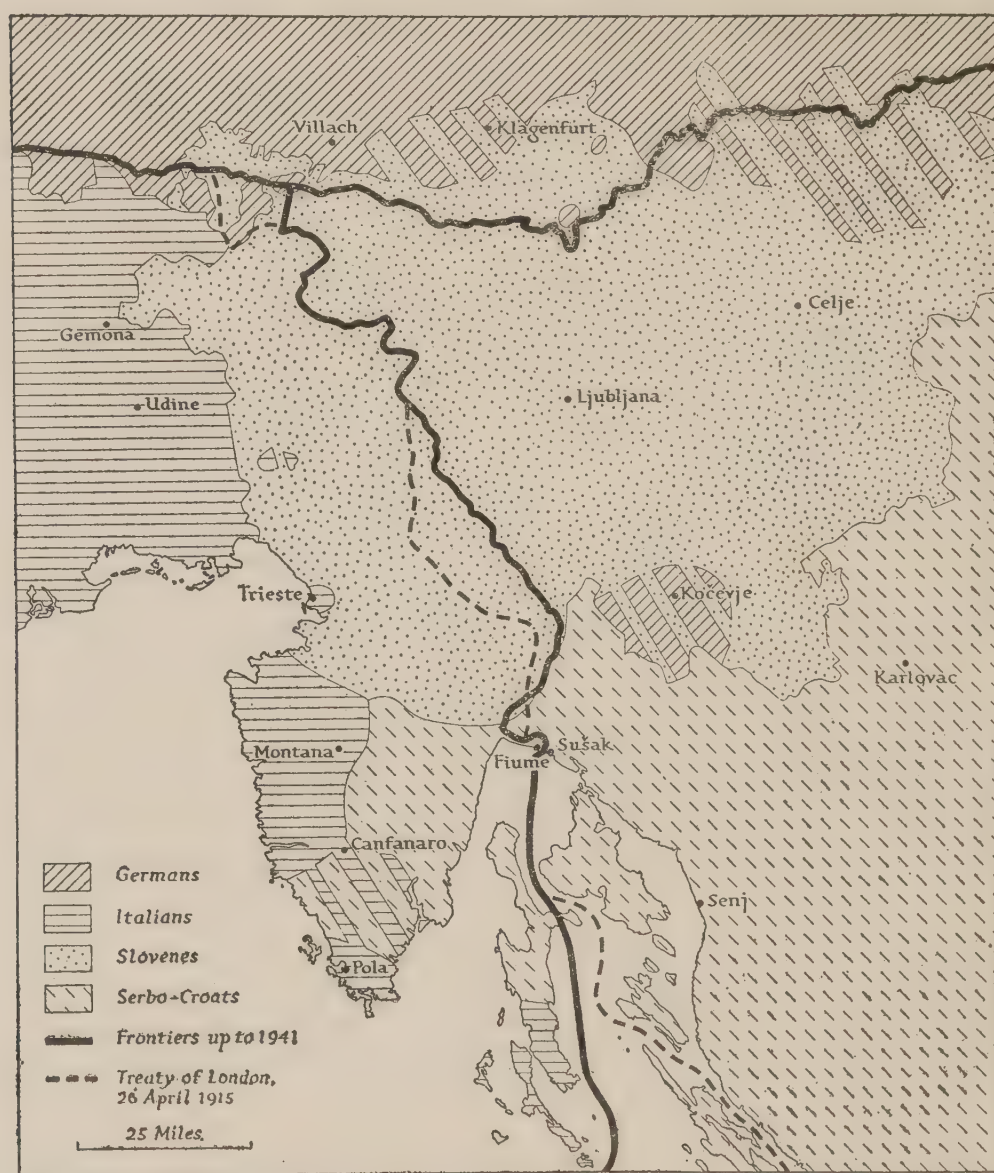


Fig. 42. Istria: Languages and Frontiers

Based on *Northern Italy: Ethnographical Map*, G.S.G.S. No. 3703a (1918).

Zara and the island of Lagosta in Dalmatia (Fig. 42). D'Annunzio kept his hold upon Fiume until the compromise proposal of a free state of Fiume under the control of the League was abandoned, and the disillusioned Yugoslavs preferred to deal direct with Italy rather than with their lukewarm allies. In the end they consented to Fiume's full incorporation in Italy (27 January 1924). Special

linguistic and economic rights were assured to the negligible Italian minority in Dalmatia (certainly less than 10,000, once Zara was excluded). Corresponding rights were provided, on paper, for the Yugoslavs of Zara and Fiume, but no minority rights at all were given to the other 470,000 Slavs. With the coming of Fascism, Slovene and Croat schools, cultural and economic institutions and even the use of Slovene or Croat in church were ruthlessly suppressed.

The Austrian frontier

Feeling rose high in the two Austrian provinces of Carinthia and Styria, across which the German-Slovene linguistic frontier ran

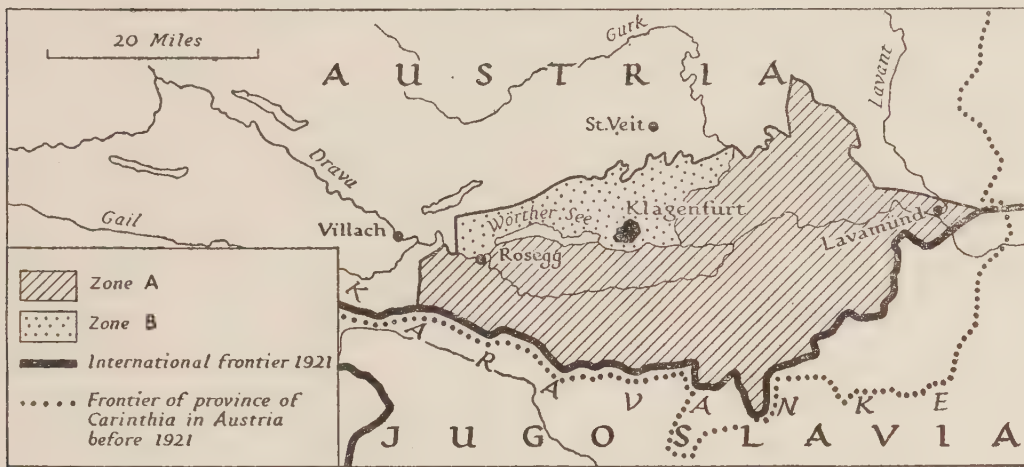


Fig. 43. The Klagenfurt plebiscite, 10 October 1920

Based on H. W. V. Temperley (ed.), *A History of the Peace Conference*, vol. iv, p. 370 (London, 1921).

Zone A voted to remain with Austria. No vote was therefore taken in Zone B which automatically remained with Austria.

(Fig. 4). In Carinthia, the boundary was settled by a plebiscite in charge of an inter-Allied Commission at Klagenfurt. Voting took place on 10 October 1920, and resulted in a victory for Austria in Zone A (the most southerly zone). While 22,025 people voted in favour of Austria, only 15,279 voted for the new Slav kingdom; and some 10,000 Slovenes must have voted for Austria. In view of this fact, no voting was held in Zone B to the north, and the whole area passed to Austria (Fig. 43). The line of the Karawanke range remained the southern frontier of Austria. To the east, in Styria, the frontier drawn by the Peace Conference ran roughly along the linguistic line.

The Hungarian frontier

By the Treaty of Trianon, 4 June 1920, the Banat (except for a small Magyar triangle south of Segedin (Szeged)) was divided between Yugoslavia and Roumania (see below). Yugoslavia also received Bačka (except Baja and district), and part of Baranja, together with the two small districts of Prekomurje and Medjumurje in the west. In Bačka, the frontier was pushed northward in order to secure Subotica with its large Catholic-Yugoslav population of Bunjevci (see p. 70). The whole frontier of necessity included considerable numbers of Germans and Magyars within the Yugoslav state, for the various languages of the area interlocked in a most bewildering fashion (see p. 77). The district of Pécs, with its valuable coal-mines, was also claimed by Yugoslavia, and was occupied until August 1921, when it was at last evacuated under pressure from the Supreme Council in Paris.

The Roumanian frontier

Roumania claimed the whole of the Banat in accordance with the secret treaty of 17 August 1916, by which she entered the war on the side of the Allies. But neither this, nor the line up to which the Serbs were allowed to occupy after the Armistice, became the ultimate frontier. A special commission of the Peace Conference divided the area on an ethnographic basis and tried to balance the Serb and the Roumanian minorities against one another. This arrangement was upset at the last minute, at the instance of the French, and two salients in the south-eastern Banat were driven into Roumanian territory so as to include the two small towns of Vršac and Bela Crkva within Yugoslavia. The final decision of the Peace Conference was published on 13 June 1919. Thus Yugoslavia not only acquired a great belt of territory to protect Belgrade on the north and east, but also a number of historic Serb centres in the Vojvodina that had played an important part in the Serbian national revival (Figs. 16-18).

The Bulgarian frontier

The great gains of Serbia in the Balkan Wars were admitted, and, by the Treaty of Neuilly on 27 November 1919, Yugoslavia was also accorded some strategic rectifications of the frontier at the expense of Bulgaria. Four areas were transferred—the Strumica salient which threatened the Vardar railway to the west; the district of Bosiljgrad; that of Caribrod; and a small strip of territory in the Timok valley (Fig. 44).



Fig. 44. Bulgarian losses to Yugoslavia, 1919

Based on I. Bowman, *The New World*, p. 386 (4th ed., New York, 1938).
 The new boundaries of Bulgaria were defined in Article 27 of the Treaty of Neuilly,
 signed 27 November 1919.

The Albanian frontier

Albanians had been steadily pushing forward into the area around Peć since 1691 (see p. 96); and in the years after 1878 the further settlement of Albanians in the districts of Kosovo, Metohija and

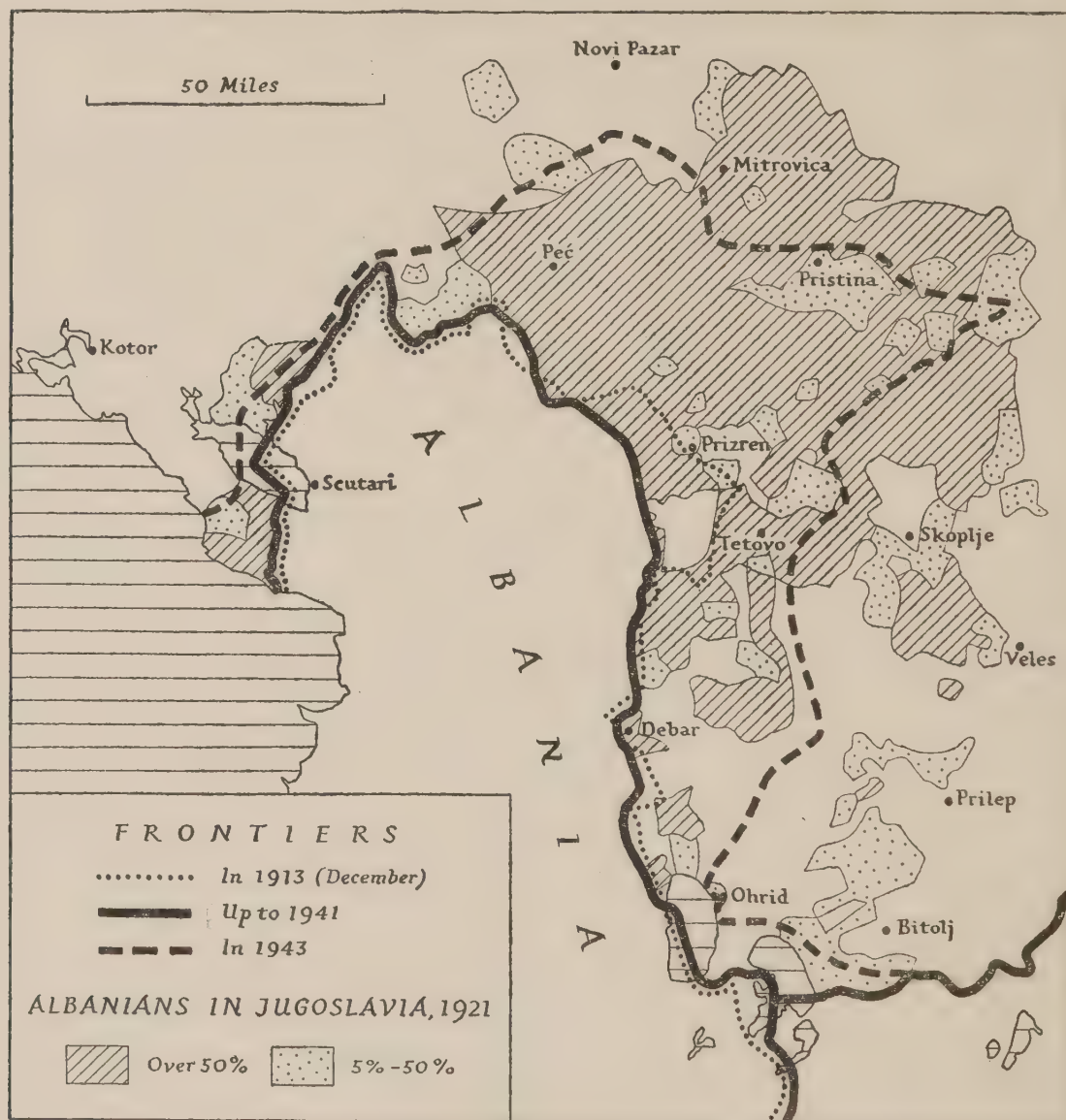


Fig. 45. The frontiers of Albania, 1913-43

Based on (i) E. P. Stickney, *Southern Albania or Northern Epirus in European International Affairs*, 1912-33, pp. 96, 108 and 109 (Stanford, Cal., 1926); (ii) H. W. V. Temperley (ed.), *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, vol. IV, p. 338 (London, 1921); and (iii) Yugoslav Census, 1921.

Novi Pazar was encouraged by the Turkish government. The Yugoslav census of January 1921 stated that there were nearly half a million Albanian-speakers within Yugoslavia (Fig. 45). At the time of the census, the frontier was still undetermined, and various alternatives were eagerly canvassed. Ultimately, the line originally sanctioned by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913 was laid down

with certain rectifications. The Yugoslavs who were still occupying part of north-eastern Albania, withdrew to their side of the line; but two small points, at Vermoshi and St Naum, still remained in dispute and were not finally settled until 30 July 1926.

A survey of the new state

A census, taken on 31 January 1921, provides a picture of the new state at the beginning of its history.* It included twelve million people, and of these some 83 per cent spoke Serbo-Croat or Slovene. The main linguistic components were as follows:

Serbo-Croats	8,911,509
Slovenes	1,019,997
Germans	505,790
Magyars	467,658
Albanians	439,657
Roumanians	231,068
Turks	150,322
Czechs and Slovaks	115,532
Ruthenes	25,615
Russians	20,568
Poles	14,764
Italians	12,553
Others	69,878
Tota	11,984,911

The preliminary census report was accompanied by a number of maps showing the distribution of these elements (Figs. 53-58).

Equally important were the religious differences, especially the difference between the Roman Catholic Croats and the Serb Orthodox (Fig. 46). The strength of the different religious confessions was as follows:

Orthodox	5,593,057
Roman Catholic	4,708,657
Greek Catholic (Uniate)	40,338
Moslem	1,345,271
Protestant	229,517
Jewish	64,746
Other religions	1,944
Without religion and unknown	1,381
Total	11,984,911

Economically, the population of the new state was largely rural in character, 80 per cent of the population being supported by

* *Résultats définitifs du Recensement de la Population du 31 Janvier 1921* (Sarajevo, 1932).

agriculture. There were only three towns with populations above 100,000—Belgrade, Zagreb and Subotica. Much of the area had been depopulated by the warfare that had disturbed the area almost

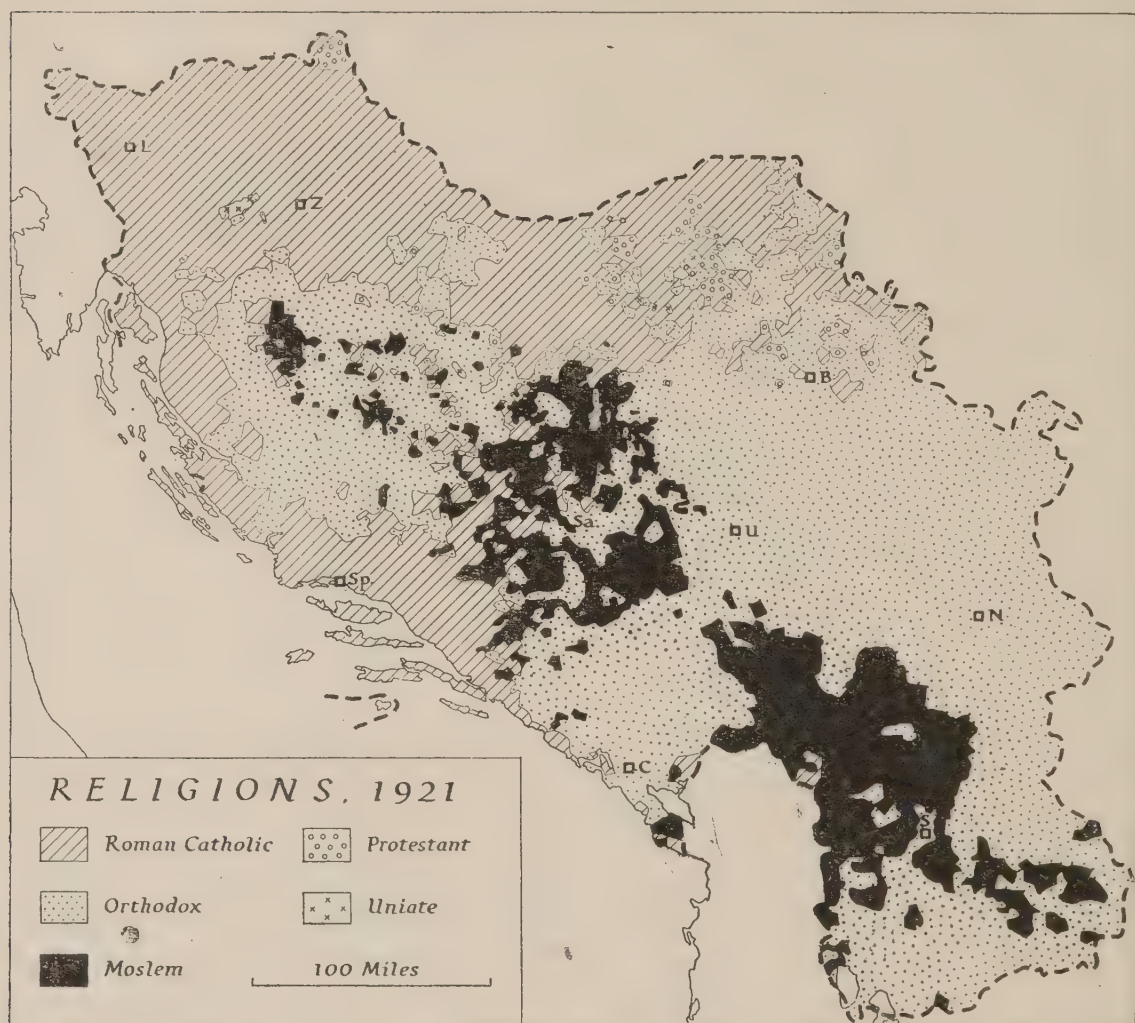


Fig. 46. The distribution of religions, 1921 (by communes)

Based on a folding map in *Résultats préliminaires du Recensement de la Population dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes du 31 Janvier 1921*, publié par la direction de la Statistique d'Etat, Belgrade (Sarajevo, 1924).

Abbreviations: B. Belgrade; C. Cetinje; L. Ljubljana; N. Niš; S. Skoplje; Sa. Sarajevo; Sp. Split; U. Užice; Z. Zagreb.

The Yugoslav-Albanian frontier at this time was still disputed at some points—see p. 154.

continuously since 1912. A period of peace for economic recuperation was badly needed. The new state also stood in need of a period of rest to work out its political destiny and to devise some satisfactory means of holding together the diverse peoples now suddenly brought together within a common frontier.

THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT, 1919-29

Centralism versus Federalism

It was inevitable that the unsettled disputes with neighbouring states should delay internal consolidation and in particular should prolong the life of the provisional parliament, which could no longer claim to be representative in the true sense of the word; the *Skupština*, for example, had been elected in 1911, and having been dissolved in June 1914, had had to be called back to function right through the war and exile, because elections could not be held. As the somewhat rudimentary bureaucratic machine of Belgrade was quite inadequate to the task of administering a country suddenly swollen to three times the size of the Serbia of 1914, and four times the size of the Serbia of 1912, the provincial governments of Croatia (under its Ban), Slovenia and Bosnia continued to function provisionally, but the Diets were no longer summoned. From the first the crucial political issue was between Centralism and Federalism, the former being more in consonance with the dominant practice in the small pre-war Serbia, the latter with the diversified practice of the Hapsburg Monarchy. Unfortunately these two views tended to coincide with the narrowly pan-Serb and the Yugoslav outlook respectively.

The two chief parties were the Radicals (under Pašić and Protić), who had been really radical and even revolutionary in the eighties, but who were now essentially conservative, and the Democrats, a new party formed out of the union of the Serbian dissident Radicals, the old Serbo-Croat Coalition of Zagreb, and the Slovene Liberals. Both groups, however, were as yet too bourgeois in outlook for large sections of the peasantry, not only in Croatia and Bosnia, but also in Serbia itself; and there was keen competition between them over the vexed question of land reform and compensation for expropriated landlords. As no one party could obtain an absolute majority, a coalition government had to be formed, and it was under the auspices of that government that elections for a Constituent Assembly took place in November 1920. These, however, did not result in a majority for any party, and the unnatural alliance of Radicals and Democrats continued. It was at this stage that Radić, who had swept the boards in Croatia with a republican and federalist programme, adopted the fatal policy of abstention from Parliament. He thus not only facilitated Pašić's cynical tactics of buying the support of a number of weak and scattered groups (such as the Moslem landowners), but also enabled Pašić to draft the new constitution on far more centralist

lines than would have been possible if its critics had taken part in the debates (see p. 321).

In its final form the constitution of 1921—known as the Vidovdan constitution because the Prince Regent took the oath to it on St Vitus' Day, 28 June 1921—was not merely unacceptable to the great majority of Croats and Slovenes, but was also disapproved of by Trumbić and some Radicals, in particular by Protić.

The ceremony of Vidovdan was marred by an attempt on the life of the Prince Regent in Belgrade: and the Minister of the Interior was murdered a month later by a young Bosnian Communist. This provided the government with an excellent excuse for reprisals, and Parliament, by 190 to 54 votes, passed decrees for the defence of the state, which authorized the most drastic and elastic measures against terrorists. The 58 Communist members were then removed, and henceforth no party on a Communist basis was allowed to exist.

*Party rivalries, 1919-29**

Having thus rid himself of serious opposition, Pašić proceeded to strengthen his political position on a centralist and narrowly Serbian basis; and Radić played straight into his hands by refusing to form a coalition with the Democrats. This attitude on the part of the Croats produced a complete deadlock, and there was dangerous talk in many quarters of either resorting to dictatorship or of treating the Croat Peasants as a subversive party and annulling their 50 mandates, on the analogy of the Communists. Neither the king nor Pašić was prepared to go so far, and indeed the latter's parliamentary majority depended on Radić's abstention. Radić on his part was mercurial and unreliable, trying to square the circle by erecting a 'pacific and humanitarian Croat Peasant Republic' inside the unitary monarchical Yugoslav state, and preaching political tenets which roused the masses but which were equally repugnant to the Radicals and Democrats. He also had ill-digested ideas of a Peasant 'Green International', but they suffered a serious blow from the overthrow and assassination of the Bulgarian Peasant leader Stambuliski in June 1923. That summer Radić escaped abroad and spent some months in London and Vienna denouncing the Pašić régime, but rendering it unassailable by his own abstentionist tactics.

During his voluntary exile the progressive forces began to form an opposition bloc of Democrats, Agrarians, Slovenes and Moslems, and in July 1924 Davidović became premier; the Croats showed less

* For an account of the various parties, see pp. 337-45.

intransigence, but still boycotted the *Skupština*. But the new government's attempt to probe the question of political corruption and even indict guilty ministers, led to an ominous concentration of vested and conservative interests; Davidović was dismissed, and Pašić was again allowed to monopolize power, though when it came to fresh elections he obtained 300,000 votes less than the united Opposition. Pašić went so far as to dissolve the Croat Republican Peasant party and to imprison Radić; but Radić, apparently realizing that he had the prospect of considerable Serb support if he abandoned his utter intransigence, yielded to the more moderate wing of his supporters and changed the name of the party to 'Croat Peasant Club.' This made possible the formation of a 'Bloc of National Agreement' with Democrats, Croat bourgeois, Slovenes and Moslems. Pavle Radić, Stephen's nephew, appeared in the *Skupština* to announce his party's acceptance of the existing constitution, its recognition of the dynasty, its 'desire to follow a positive policy, in the sense of working for the Croat nation,' and its appreciation of the Serbian Army.

This obviously created a new situation, and ought to have made things easier. In reality, it made confusion worse confounded, for Pašić immediately released Radić from prison and made his own bargain with him, as a result of which the Croat Peasants seceded from the opposition bloc and formed a rival coalition with their Radical enemies. This involved Pašić throwing over his temporary ally, Svetozar Pribičević, the leader of the Independent Democrats (Serbs of Croatia), and Radić, on his side, leaving Trumbić and the Croat bourgeoisie in the air. The bitterness engendered by this unnatural alliance between the two strongest parties in the state was kept alive by Radić's constant turns and twists. Even the death of Pašić in December 1926, did not ease the situation. In 1927 Radić reverted to opposition, and when the Radical government secured a working majority at the elections of that year, Radić performed the last of his endless *volte-faces* by allying himself with his boyhood friend and his political enemy, Pribičević. This had very great importance for the future, as it meant a recognition on the latter's part that his centralist policy had been mistaken and that the *prečani*—people from the 'other side,' beyond the river, i.e. from the former provinces of Austria-Hungary—must combine and hold together against the oppressive and often corrupt centralized régime in Belgrade. Much was at this time heard of the 'corruptionists'—but it is essential to point out that the keenest protests came from the

liberal-minded Serbs, who were handicapped, not helped, by the Croat-Radical alliance—and again of the *Čaršija* clique (a Turkish nickname roughly equivalent to the 'Deux Cent Familles' of France) which pulled political strings in the background. This confused and kaleidoscopic period is the least edifying in Yugoslav history, and in itself utterly barren; yet the sequel can hardly be understood without some reference to it.

Economic progress, 1919-29

Economic progress had not been impaired by political strife within Yugoslavia. For example, a new railway line connecting Zagreb with Split had been completed in 1925, thus providing the Adriatic coast with direct communication to the hinterland. Agriculture, too, had shown a remarkable recovery from the effects of the war of 1914-18; harvests had been good, production had increased and the area under cultivation had been extended. In 1924, for the first time, exports exceeded imports and there was a favourable trade balance during the following two years. The Yugoslav mercantile marine also showed signs of development; the Peace Treaties had restricted its number to 138 vessels, mostly small, but in 1926 this number was increased by one half. Again, the tourist industry prospered, and there was an increasing flow of visitors to the Dalmatian and Croatian coasts. There had been a financial crisis in 1922, with inflationary dangers, but the cautious policy of the government led to the stabilization of the dinar at about 275 to the pound sterling, and by the end of 1926 the repayment of the Yugoslav war debt, first to the U.S.A. and then to Great Britain, had given the state a more advantageous position to attract capital to her industries.

The Skupština murders

During 1928 it was obvious to all students of the Yugoslav situation that the seething pot was about to boil over. On 20 June Puniša Račić, a Montenegrin deputy belonging to the Radical majority, fired his revolver in the *Skupština*, killed Pavle Radić and another Croat deputy, and mortally wounded Stephen Radić. The assassin was notoriously pan-Serb in outlook and was in touch with a 'revolver journal' named *Jedinstvo*, which was openly inciting to bloodshed and was known to have been subsidized by the premier, Vukičević. The king saved the situation for the moment by hastening

to Radić's bedside; but nothing was done to conciliate the Croats, and Račić was treated with an ominous leniency.

Radić's successor as the Peasant leader, Dr Maček, declared that 'there is no longer a constitution, but only king and people.' This ambiguous phrase was interpreted to mean that the crown should dissolve parliament and deal direct with the Croats; and there were growing signs that King Alexander was tired of the scandals of the post-war régime, and was contemplating drastic measures. The crisis was no mere cabinet crisis, such as the country had experienced about twice a year for ten years. It was a crisis of the state. The country was divided into two camps, respectively centred at Belgrade and Zagreb. The division may be roughly described as one between Serbians and *prečani*; and the fundamental cause of the rift was the public administration by the more primitive Serbians. But this simple antithesis was complicated by several minor factors. In the camp of Belgrade were to be found elements devoted to Serbia, such as most of the Bosnian Serbs and some of the Serbs of Croatia and the Vojvodina; and also more opportunist elements, which saw advantages in adherence to the centre of power, such as the Slovenes and some of the Bosnian Moslems. On the other hand, the camp of Zagreb had its sympathizers in the barely articulate Macedonians and Albanians of southern Serbia and some of the Montenegrins.* The motto of Belgrade was unity: one king, one state, one people; that of Zagreb was harmony: federalism, one king, but several states embodying distinct, but associated, peoples.

For six months, government was carried on by a coalition of the Belgrade parties under the premiership of Mgr Korošec, the Slovene leader, while at Zagreb the SDK began to organize a counter-government of Croatia (see p. 342). In December, the withdrawal of the Democratic party from the government put an end to this unsatisfactory state of affairs and Mgr Korošec's cabinet resigned. The parliamentary system had broken down. As the king said in an interview to the *Matin* (15 January 1929), 'The machine no longer works.' It was time for the crown to step in. King Alexander was encouraged to do so by the attitude of Zagreb. *Obzor*, the intellectualist Zagreb newspaper declared that 'only the crown can end the crisis. We adopt the motto, "The People and the King."'

For what desperate remedies the situation called, in the king's

* The Montenegrins, despite the independence of their state before 1918, are here considered as Serbians.

estimation, is shown by his action in summoning Dr Maček and Dr Pribičević, and asking their views on the 'amputation' of Croatia and Slovenia from the state. He suggested the possibility of a friendly agreement to separate, as in the case of Norway and Sweden in 1905. His government might then withdraw its troops and officials to the east of a line which would leave to Belgrade southern Dalmatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Vojvodina. But the SDK leaders did not represent an alien minority, only anxious to join another state; nor yet a population capable of forming a sovereign state. Left to themselves, the *prečani* would not only have had the problem of the Slovenes on their hands, but would have had to expect partition at the hands of Italy and Hungary. They had no desire to be excluded from Yugoslavia, a proposal which Dr Pribičević described to the king as 'high treason'. The king then asked for their programme, which they gave as federalism. This the king submitted to the leaders of the Serbian parties. Their unqualified refusal to amend the constitution brought the king's efforts at mediation to an end. On 6 January 1929 he declared the *Skupština* dissolved and the constitution of 1921 abolished. All authority was vested in the crown.

THE ROYAL DICTATORSHIP, 1929-34

Government by decree, 1929-31

The dictatorship of King Alexander was unlike most of those established in Europe of recent years. It was supported by no organized party and it was announced to be merely a temporary expedient. The king was to be the trustee of the nation until such time as passions had subsided. In the meantime the worst abuses of the parliamentary régime were to be removed. 'Is not that dictatorship,' said King Alexander, 'when a party leader, who has not even a programme, decides of his sovereign power that this or that one of his friends shall be elected in a constituency, of whose first needs he is utterly ignorant? Or when that party leader gets a crowd of his followers nominated as officials, although they have no aptitude to recommend them except their support of that politician, who in return enables them to live at the expense of the country?' By the purification of public life, by directing the minds of his people away from party or regional or religious differences to a common patriotism, by the reform of the civil service and by its decentralization, King Alexander proposed to provide the

conditions for true democracy. His proclamation of 6 January said, 'We shall have to seek new methods of work and tread new paths. I am sure that all, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, will loyally support my efforts, whose sole aim will be to establish as rapidly as possible such administration and organization of the state as will best conform with the general needs of the people and the interests of the state.'

The king's bold assumption of responsibility was on the whole well received at first. It was generally hoped that he would raise the standard of administrative efficiency, attack corruption and press forward with the unification of the six still surviving systems of law (see p. 345); while the *prečani* hoped at least for equal treatment with the Serbians as well as an equal share in the service of the state, and at most for a federal constitution which would ensure home rule to the clearly distinguishable portions of the country. Dr Maček himself expressed his relief that 'the waistcoat (the centralist constitution of 1921) was unbuttoned,' and his hope that 'by the wisdom of the king the Croats would become free in their free Croatia.'

Further, the new régime enjoyed the advantage of national prosperity. While more industrialized countries were staggering under the onslaught of the financial crisis, Yugoslavia appeared to be an island of the blessed, still enjoying the material welfare of the nineteen-twenties. The years 1929 and 1930 were marked by excellent harvests; and, behind a stiff tariff wall and with machinery supplied by Germany on account of reparations, the young Yugoslav textile industry developed rapidly. People were not sorry to have a rest from politics.

The proclamation of the royal dictatorship was accompanied and succeeded by several decrees which made clear the character of the new régime. A law for the defence of the realm announced the penalties of death or twenty years' imprisonment for those convicted of terrorism, sedition or the propagation of communism. All political parties of a regional or religious character were declared dissolved; and no associations were permitted unless approved by the government. All the elected municipal and departmental councils were dissolved. The law of the press was stiffened to provide in fact for the suppression of all liberty of the press. A law on the organization of the judiciary gave the crown the power to remove judges, thus placing them at the mercy of the government. A 'Supreme Legislative Council,' established on the 18 February, had no powers of

control, and was only used to give legal coherence to the government's decrees. At the head of the political system were the king and the Council of Ministers, who were responsible solely to him.

If these political laws established a strong, centralized autocracy, the composition of the ministry, with General Živković as premier, showed that the dictatorship was not really departing from the policy of Serbian hegemony. The king had doubtless made sincere efforts to form a ministry drawn from all his peoples. But the only Croats whom he could get were isolated intellectuals who could neither affect the policy of the government nor recommend it to their fellow-Croats. To the king, intent on the benefits of a unified patriotism, the Croats must have appeared unjustifiably obstinate and suspicious. To the Croats, intent on their national existence, the king was already showing signs of merely infusing a new efficiency into the Serbian hegemony, which they hated.

Of the government's strenuous pursuit of efficiency there could be no doubt. In its first year it poured out a flood of legislation dealing with religions, legal and administrative affairs. Ordinary crime diminished considerably, and brigandage appears to have virtually ceased. To deliver the peasantry from their dependence on usurious creditors, the Privileged Agrarian Bank was established in August with the duty of lending to farmers at 10% or less, with easy terms of repayment and with a dividend of 6% guaranteed by the state to the shareholders. Measures were also introduced for the inspection and standardizing of various crops, and for a permanent campaign against destructive pests. Finally, on 3 October, came the law reorganizing the administration. The 33 departments were swept away and the country was divided into nine large *banovine* and the prefecture of Belgrade (see p. 331). At the same time the official name of the state was changed from that 'of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes,' to Yugoslavia.

The Croat problem, 1929-31

One result of this determined effort at centralization was that early in 1929 Croatian leaders had fled the country. They were of two clearly distinguishable kinds. MM. Pavelić and Perčec, who fled to Vienna and then to Bulgaria to establish contact with the Macedonian revolutionaries, were frankly separatists and terrorists, refusing all connexion with Serbia and prepared to accept money and assistance from Italy and Hungary in the years to come. Their supporters were few and drawn chiefly from the Croatian students

and bourgeoisie. On the other hand, MM. Košutić and Krnjević were prominent officials of the Peasant Party. They set themselves to conduct a journalistic campaign from Geneva and in the press of Britain, France and America, for Croatian autonomy, but countenanced no terrorism or co-operation with states hostile to Yugoslavia.

What chance of success the king's project of unification had it is difficult to estimate. His government certainly dealt severely with all expression of particularism. The summer of 1929 saw the police prisons filled with alleged 'communists' or agents of foreign powers, and stories circulated about statements extracted by means of atrocious torture. But strenuous efforts were made to rally Croatian opinion to the support of the régime. These efforts, however, received a severe set-back with the promulgation of the Sokol Law, on 4 December. This dissolved the Croatian, the Slovene and the specifically Catholic *sokols*, or physical training societies, which had been built up before 1914 by popular subscriptions, as well as the more official Serbian *sokol*, and established a single Yugoslav *sokol* under government control (see p. 234). This artificial imposition of unity was carried a step further, on 6 September 1930, when at a military parade Serbian regiments gave up their Serbian flags, so rich in military traditions, and received Yugoslav flags in exchange. There followed a royal order of 26 November providing that in future the military displays always held on Vidovdan, 28 June, the Serbian national day, should be transferred to 6 September. The king thus showed his intention of merging Serbian, no less than Croatian, feeling in Yugoslav loyalty. But his doctrinaire insistence on a little-shared idea irritated far more than it gratified.

The year 1930, however, passed quietly, despite the trial of Dr Maček and twenty-three Croats, from 24 April to 14 June, for terrorism or its encouragement. The trial brought to light more police brutality, but the courts could still be trusted to administer the law, draconian as it was, and not to pronounce an arbitrary condemnation. Dr Maček and nearly half of the accused were acquitted, the remainder getting varying terms of imprisonment.

In the autumn, the city council of Zagreb offered the king a castle in the neighbourhood of Zagreb; and finally in January 1931, the king and queen paid a visit of ten days to Zagreb. The visit appears to have been a real personal success for King Alexander, whose courage, manliness and sincerity aroused the appreciation of all. He walked unattended in the streets and spoke with enthusiasm to the Croatian crowds of the solidity of their common fatherland.

Circumstances that specially aroused the Yugoslav enthusiasm of the Croats and Slovenes at this time were the Italian government's execution of four Slovenes and the imprisonment of eleven others in connection with a bomb outrage at Trieste, and the stern repression of the Yugoslavs in Venezia Giulia.

By the winter of 1930-31, however, the régime was beginning to get into difficulties, and the Croat problem was still far from being solved. In May 1931, exiles at Geneva submitted to the League of Nations a memorandum on conditions in Croatia, which penetrated to Western public opinion. It contained a long list of persons imprisoned without trial, of the use of torture and of *agents provocateurs* by the police, and of alternative offers of office or prison made to prominent Croats.

The Constitution of 1931

Discontent was not confined to Croatia. Now, too, the smouldering resentment of the Serbians at the disappearance of all the liberties to which they were accustomed began to gather force, and police action was directed against them also. Political discontent, however, might possibly have been overcome but for the beginnings of the economic crisis which was soon to overwhelm the whole state (see p. 171).

To these difficulties, the rising irritation amongst the Serbians, the necessity to increase foreign, especially French, confidence in Yugoslavia, the need of support for the government's economic battle and the alarming example of the Spanish revolution in April, may be attributed the king's decision to revive parliament. This was done by the constitution promulgated on 3 September 1931.

The constitution of 1931 left the power of the government undiminished in fact, if not wholly so in law. It proclaimed an impressive array of civil liberties, freedom from arrest, freedom of expression, of assembly, of association; but in each case, the liberty was 'within the limits of the law' and the law, as established under the dictatorship, remained in force, while all associations for political purposes or physical training on a religious, regional or particularist basis, were expressly forbidden. Ministers were to remain solely responsible to the crown; security of tenure was promised to judges, but postponed for five years. Parliament was to consist of two houses (see p. 329).

The arguments for this constitution were that it provided the first step towards democracy, while still ensuring national unity by

keeping the royal power intact and only permitting the existence of nation-wide parties. Its Serbian critics rejected it as a mere disguise for autocracy, and the *prečani* because they saw in it a mere continuation of the Serbianization of the previous twelve years. With minor alterations, and subject to the establishment of Croatian autonomy in 1939, the constitution of 1931 remained the public law of Yugoslavia until April 1941.

Unrepresentative Government 1931-2

As all the existing parties were rendered illegal by the constitution, the most that they could do was to circulate illicitly-printed appeals to the electors to boycott the elections. This they all did, *prečani* and Serbians alike, even the Radical party, once the backbone of the Serbian domination. The new *Skupština* consisted exclusively of government supporters. It was officially announced that 65 per cent of the electorate had voted, but little credence was given to these figures and it was notorious that in many places extreme pressure had been put on voters to get them to the polls. The elections were followed by student riots in Belgrade, when the cry 'Down with France' (since the régime was held to depend on French money) was heard and the university was closed for a fortnight. Similar events occurred at Zagreb and Ljubljana.

The king evidently felt the difficulty of continuing to govern in a vacuum, with no organized popular support; for early in 1932 he sent for Dr Maček and M. Aca Stanojević, the aged leader of the Radicals. A government containing those two could have gone to the country certain of electoral victory. But the Croat leader stood out for autonomy and even a separate Croat army, demands which neither the king nor any Serbian politician would concede. Accordingly, the king fell back on the alternative of creating a new Yugoslav official party. On 4 April, General Živković resigned, and his place was taken by Dr Marinković. The new premier announced the formation of the Yugoslav Peasant Radical Democratic party, a fantastic title designed to borrow the mottoes of all the greater parties, and urged deputies diligently to organize the new party throughout the kingdom. This new departure appears to have caused divisions in the government between the 'Jugoslavs', who sincerely supported the merging of all forces in a national party, and the Serbian Radicals, who wanted to recover contact with the Radical party from which they were now estranged. That the régime was losing its self-confidence became apparent from the

indulgence shown to the Serbian parties, which now began to emerge from obscurity with their organizations weakened but still intact. These parties, Radical, Democratic and Agrarian which now began to play the part of an opposition, were at one with the *prečani* in demanding a neutral government of officials, truly free elections followed by parliamentary government, and decentralization. Where they still differed from Zagreb was on the issue of federalism. The first sign of Serbian sympathy for the Croatian case was the appearance of a pamphlet, entitled, 'What the struggle with the Croats is costing us', which argued that a settlement with Zagreb, even at the cost of federalism, was essential. The pamphlet was suppressed, and Dr Dragoljub Jovanović, a professor of Belgrade University and member of the Agrarian party, who was generally supposed to have been its author, was imprisoned. In Belgrade there were renewed student riots in April. Cries of 'Down with the King. Cheers for the Republic', were heard, and the university was closed for the rest of the academic year. In quite another quarter, among the officers of the garrison at Maribor, a 'communist' plot was unearthed and the accused received sentences of death or of long imprisonment. Even Slovenia was agitated; Mgr Korošec, the Slovene leader, who had left the government when its first popularity waned in the autumn of 1930, was now suspected of disaffection and the public celebration of his birthday was forbidden. As for the Croats, they received even harsher treatment. In June 1932 Dr Budak, a prominent publicist of Zagreb, and two less well-known Croats were the victims of murderous attacks in the street and owed their lives to the intervention of passers-by.

Amid these discontents, on 30 June 1932, Dr Marinković, whose health was precarious, resigned. It might have been expected that the new government would be designed to conciliate either the *prečani*, by being genuinely 'Jugoslav', or the Serbians, by increased indulgence towards their parties. The king adopted neither alternative, but appointed Dr Srškić, a Bosnian Serb, one of the royalist ex-Radicals, detestable to the Croats as a centralist and unpopular with the Serbians as a monarchist. A period followed during which the antagonism between rulers and ruled reached its height. Although the new premier promised a gradual return to democratic methods, he declared that the old parties would not be allowed to revive, and the censorship was once more strictly applied, though the inspired press was permitted to publish sinister threats against the Croat and other opposition leaders.

In September there occurred a desperate rebellion of starving peasants in the Lika district of southern Croatia and in the Dalmatian hills. The rebels were armed with rifles smuggled in from the coast and, after it had taken the gendarmerie and troops some weeks to restore authority, the survivors fled to Zara (Zadar). The Italian hand in the matter was manifest, even if the resentment of destitute men against harsh government was the cause.

The Growth of Opposition, 1932-3

The winter of 1932-3 saw a remarkable development of the various oppositions to the régime. On 26 November the controlled Belgrade press published a confidential statement of opposition aims which had been drafted at Zagreb three weeks earlier. It was to have been submitted to the Serbian Opposition leaders but had fallen into official hands. The document, which became known as the Zagreb Manifesto, bore the signatures of ten of the best-known leaders of organized opinion not only in Croatia, but of the Serbs and Croats of Bosnia and the Vojvodina. In its five points, the manifesto outlined the essential conditions for political settlement within the kingdom: the application of the principle of popular sovereignty, the safeguarding of the peasantry, the removal of Serbian hegemony, a return to the *status quo* of 1918 and the reorganization of the state on the basis of an association of interests to safeguard the 'Serbian nation, the Croat nation and the Slovene nation'. There were many expressions of at least partial sympathy with the manifesto. Mgr Korošec claimed autonomy for the Slovenes. Likewise, twenty-eight leaders of all parties in the Vojvodina issued a statement demanding autonomy for their district, and the Moslem Organization claimed the same for Bosnia-Herzegovina, underlining the Zagreb assertion of popular sovereignty.

The régime responded vigorously by interning Dr Maček in southern Bosnia and Mgr Korošec in eastern Serbia (later, on the island of Hvar), and imprisoning Dr Spaho, the Moslem leader, and others for a short period. But the régime was finding the basis of its support growing ever narrower. Even the Radical party protested against the imprisonments and demanded a general settlement by democratic methods.

Thus, after four years of existence, the dictatorship had succeeded in alienating all the organized parties in the country, while its own supporters were becoming increasingly divided into mutually hostile groups. At the same time, Yugoslavia's neighbours were giving

assistance to the terrorist exiles, and waiting to make use of an expected Croat rebellion. Incidents were occurring on the Macedonian border, which were followed by the exchange of sharp notes between Belgrade and Sofia. While the escapade of the defacement of two Lions of St. Mark, carved on the walls of Trogir, in Dalmatia, had provoked a savage attack from Mussolini himself in the Italian Senate on 14 December 1932. Nevertheless, the king and his ministers persevered on their chosen path of repression. Trials of Croat leaders culminated on 24 April 1933 in that of Dr Maček, who was prosecuted for the Zagreb Manifesto of November and for seditious statements to foreign journalists. His condemnation to three years' imprisonment not only enraged Croatia but drew a united protest from all the Serbian parties against the 'persecution perpetrated by this un-national régime imposed on the people'. By this time probably nothing but the fear of Italian aggression prevented a rebellion in Croatia.

Except for the efforts of Ministers to popularize the official party led by former Radicals and in July re-christened the 'Jugoslav National Party' (JNS), the summer of 1933 saw no change in the situation. All criticism was stifled by internments and imprisonments. Assassination became an everyday affair. King Alexander, however, could not be brought to realize that the many failures of the past decade were above all a consequence of the refusal to disentangle three entirely distinct problems: the trial of strength between Serb and Croat, which was also a struggle between centralist and regional ideas; the need for a return to constitutional government; and economic and social problems which had their roots in the national and constitutional issues and which were now being aggravated by the world depression. By 1933 it was already fairly obvious that the king had not solved any of the three; all that he had done was to establish a police régime, to entrench himself in the support of the High Command and to govern by rigorously excluding men of independent character. He had made a double miscalculation: he had hoped to break the passive resistance of the Croats and ended by making them more united than ever before; he had also hoped to strengthen the Serb element in the state and to ensure its predominance, yet in actual fact he hastened the real disintegration of Serbian party life to an extent for which there was no precedent.

The Economic Crisis, 1931-3

Economic conditions in Yugoslavia began to deteriorate in 1931. During the first six months of that year, exports and imports fell by 25 per cent. The trade balance for the same period showed a deficit of over 265 million dinars. A loan arranged in May at Paris of 1,025 million francs at 7 per cent was used to stabilize the dinar. But matters became rapidly worse. The National Bank's foreign credits became exhausted and a series of temporary expedients was adopted. In August came the cessation of German reparation payments, which meant a loss of 700 million dinars a year, entailing the necessity of severe cuts in administrative salaries and pensions and an increase of taxation. The collapse in the prices of agricultural products now hit the country severely, and in June the government in desperation undertook to buy up the whole wheat harvest at about 60 per cent above the world price, an arrangement that greatly added to the country's financial embarrassments.

The full force of the economic catastrophe came in 1932, at a time when political unrest was at its stormiest stage. The first serious blow had been a run on the banks in September 1931, which followed the British government's repudiation of the Gold Standard. Just when the banks most needed credit, the National Bank found it necessary to deny them such facilities, and the banks were only given moratoria on condition that they came under government control. Then the government's grain monopoly, intended to protect the peasants against the collapse of cereal prices, worked disastrously. The government agents were unable to store all the quantities of wheat received, much of which was consequently ruined. On the other hand, many of the peasants were paid in bonds, which were not available for the payment of taxes. The whole scheme was dropped early in 1932, at a loss of over 400 million dinars to the tax-payers. Other disasters took place. The winter was exceptionally severe and was followed by extensive floods. Some 30,000 persons were homeless. The scarcity of fodder resulted in the slaughtering of a quarter of the country's cattle, which made the export of stock impossible. Something had to be done for the peasants, bewildered by the collapse of their whole economy, exasperated against the urban *gospoda* (gentry) who ruled and exploited them, and unable to repay the debts which, especially in the Serbian districts, they had contracted in the carefree years of prosperity.

In March, the government announced a moratorium of six months for peasant debts. This expedient was also followed by unhappy consequences. The peasants found themselves unable to obtain any credit at the time of year when they most needed it and were accustomed to having it. Their creditors had less prospect than ever of recovering their debts. The peasants were unable to buy anything. Retailers were unable to pay wholesalers, who, in turn, could not pay manufacturers and importers. The number of bankruptcies and compulsory settlements in 1932 was more than three times as great as that in 1930. There was even an outcry for a general moratorium on all debts. Nevertheless in October the government continued the suspension of peasant debts indefinitely, and it lasted till 23 November 1933.

Meanwhile export trade had been falling heavily; the National Bank's supply of foreign exchange ran short; exchange control was introduced with increasing severity, till in March it was made illegal for money to leave the country. Foreign trade was in consequence almost paralysed. To meet the desperate situation the government began to negotiate for clearing agreements with most of the European countries. In June the Commercial Secretary to the British Legation reported, 'it seems likely that when any form of trade revival appears there will be a great re-orientation, due not only to changes in international relationships but to the fact that old business connexions have been severed and old sources of credit cut off during this period of currency control.' His prediction was indeed fulfilled.

Foreign Affairs, 1933-4

Amid these disasters the country experienced a relaxation of interest in public affairs, the problem of the next meal being uppermost in most men's minds, though bitterness against the government was prevalent in all districts. At the same time Yugoslavia's international position was deteriorating. The victory of the 'Left' in the French elections of May 1932 meant that France would withdraw from her position of paymaster to Yugoslavia. As *La Volonté* interpreted the situation, 'France has voted against the policy of the European *status quo* which inevitably entails conflict. She has realized that the policy of alliances with a view to encircling Germany is no longer practicable, and that the burden of armaments, incompatible with a minimum of prosperity, does not even assure security'. The Yugoslav government soon felt the truth of these words, for in July, Yugoslavia failed to obtain the fresh loan of which the régime

was in pressing need and only secured a moratorium of one year for the payments due on previous loans. On the worst of terms with her neighbours, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria, and with her French patron alienated and preoccupied, Yugoslavia was in a position that justified anxiety.

In this period of political violence and economic depression at home, the importance of foreign affairs became more urgent. Here the king inaugurated policies which rapidly produced satisfactory results. In September 1933, King Boris of Bulgaria was passing through Yugoslavia on his way home. At King Alexander's suggestion, the two monarchs met informally in Belgrade station and the foundation was laid for a mutual friendship, which in 1934 led to a Yugoslav-Bulgarian *rapprochement*, a more conciliatory régime in Serbian Macedonia, the suppression of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization in Bulgaria, and finally, in 1937, to the pact of eternal friendship between the two states. Immediately after that interview, the king made a tour of Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece, which was a prelude to the inauguration, on 9 February 1934, of the Balkan Entente, in which it was not his fault that Bulgaria was not included. The king was doing his best to find security by linking the Little Entente (Yugoslavia, Roumania and Czechoslovakia) and the Balkan States. Danger was apprehended from Italy and from a revived union, whether Hapsburg or Italian, of Austria and Hungary.

The challenge of Germany to the established order was veiled by the friendly attitude of the Nazi Government towards Yugoslavia, as shown by General Göring's visits to Belgrade and by the German-Yugoslav treaty of commerce in May 1934, which facilitated the diversion of German tourists from Austria to the holiday resorts of the Yugoslav coast. Nevertheless the visit of M. Barthou to the Little Entente Conference and to Belgrade in June gave the government an opportunity of making the most emphatic declarations that they would resist the slightest revision of the *status quo*. Strained relations with Hungary developed into an open dispute before the Council of the League of Nations in June 1934, when the Hungarian representative complained of the difficulties caused by the severity of the Yugoslav frontier control, and the Yugoslav reply, with a wealth of corroborative evidence, accused Hungary of training terrorists and assisting them in their attacks on the Yugoslav government.

Early in October 1934 King Alexander left by sea for an official visit to Paris; after landing at Marseilles, on 9 October, he was

assassinated while driving through the streets; M. Barthou was at the same time mortally wounded. It is no secret that the king intended to carry a stage further the discussions and plans for Balkan consolidation in view of the disturbing developments in Central Europe. But it is less known that he had latterly reached the conclusion that the dictatorship was a failure, and was firmly resolved on his return to revert to constitutional government. The outburst of grief and rage throughout Yugoslavia was a sure sign that his people, an overwhelming majority of whom disapproved of the dictatorship and desired a return to democracy, none the less recognized that in the eyes of the enemy he was a symbol of unity and independence and had been removed for that reason. Popular legend at once constructed the tale that with his last breath he gasped, 'Protect Yugoslavia for me'.

THE REGENCY, 1934-41

The legacy of King Alexander

King Alexander had been respected, indeed liked, throughout Yugoslavia, even by those who most deplored his policy of the forcible fusion of incompatible elements. The universal expressions of grief at his death were the tributes of his peoples to a brave and sincere monarch. Convinced that federalism would mean disruption, he had believed that only the use of force could serve the unity of the state. At his death Alexander left the country torn by dissension and distrust, with more party differences even than under the parliamentary system, the ills of which he had set out to cure.

It was to a country overshadowed by economic distress as well as by political bitterness that the young King Peter II was brought from his preparatory school in Surrey. King Alexander had left a will appointing a triple Regency consisting of his cousin Prince Paul, Dr Stanković (a distinguished Serbian specialist and Professor of Medicine at Belgrade University), and Dr Perović (a Serb official, for a time Ban of the Coastal *banovina*). As substitutes for these three he had nominated General Tomić, commandant of the Belgrade garrison, M. Banjanin (a well-known Serb journalist in Zagreb, an active member of the Yugoslav Committee during the war of 1914-18, who rallied to the dictatorship and became a Senator), and Dr Zec, a little-known Serb official. Five of the six names were greeted by the general public with feelings of unreserved amazement, for politically they were unknown. Even of Prince Paul this was in the main

true, though he was the only possible member of the Royal family for such a post.

It was upon Prince Paul that the mantle of authority had been conferred; and hopes were aroused that he would inaugurate a return to constitutional government. Early in November he received a memorandum from 250 leading Croatian ecclesiastics, ex-ministers, bankers, writers and artists, urging a general amnesty, especially for Dr Maček, free elections and the appointment to high office of men respected for their characters and abilities. This appeal was strikingly supported by a similar memorandum from fifty of the most eminent Serbian intellectuals. But Prince Paul walked warily, knowing that he was distrusted by many Serbians as a 'foreigner' educated in Russia and at Oxford. He interviewed leaders of parties likely to accept the existing constitution, especially the Radicals, who had already applied for registration as a party. But he retained the Uzunović cabinet appointed by King Alexander in January 1934. Meanwhile the Foreign Minister, M. Jevtić, was engaged at Geneva on the difficult task of branding Hungary with complicity in the murder of the late king, without recourse to war, without loss of national dignity and without stimulating the anger which was felt in the country and the government. The Memorandum which the Yugoslav government presented to the League and then published to the world at large was a formidable indictment of Hungary, the more so as it was now known that for many months past Belgrade had made representations to Budapest regarding the terrorist activities conducted from Janka Puszta, and that among the persons of whom it had complained by name were some of those now implicated in the Marseilles crime. Yet nothing had been done to fulfil the undertakings of Budapest to suppress terrorism on Hungarian soil.

The discussions of the League of Nations, however, ended in only a qualified condemnation of Hungary. Nevertheless M. Jevtić was made prime minister, with a cabinet containing no prominent politicians except General Živković and one of the younger Radicals, M. Stojadinović, a financial expert.

The Elections of May 1935

The new government made the conciliatory gesture of releasing Dr Maček and Dr D. Jovanović from Mitrovica prison in which they had cemented a firm friendship, and the censorship was relaxed, but the premier announced that the existing constitution, which was designed to prohibit opposition parties, would be upheld. In

February 1935 the *Skupština* was dissolved and elections announced for 5 May. It was the first electoral contest to be held for eight years, and it was anything but free (see p. 343). The opposition was prevented from holding meetings or publishing appeals, the press being only permitted to print official announcements and speeches. Several of the opposition leaders were temporarily interned. The voters were subjected to the most open intimidation and violence, and state employees received instructions such as those issued by the Ban of the Coastal *banovina* (*Primorska*) to his subordinates on 20 March: 'This (the official) list must have a majority, and every official who does not vote for it will be held responsible and punished without mercy'.

The first published results of the elections—Government 1,738,000, Opposition 983,000—were so vigorously challenged that they were revised to show Government 1,746,982, Opposition 1,076,346. When allowance was made for all the voters whose livelihood depended on their support of the Government, as well as for the abstention of the Radicals (the 'grand old Serbian party') and the Slovenes, and for the official tampering with the figures which was assumed as a matter of course, the elections amounted to a moral victory for the opposition. The electoral method, however, attributed 301 seats to the Government and only 67 to its opponents.

These scandalous elections were quickly followed by dramatic consequences. The deputies of the opposition bloc boycotted the *Skupština* (see p. 343) and met in a counter-parliament at Zagreb. The aged Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb requested an audience of Prince Paul, and laid before him a statement of the grosser outrages committed during the elections in his diocese, and the text found its way into the Vienna *Reichspost*. The three Croat Ministers resigned and were quickly followed by General Živković and M. Stojadinović. The Prince Regent then took the bold step of inviting the Croat leader to visit him. Dr Maček drove in a royal car from Belgrade station to the palace, cheered by the Belgrade crowd. After his interview with Prince Paul, he spent the evening with the Serbian Democratic and Agrarian leaders and reached agreement about their common aims. He accepted the Dynasty, the common Army and Foreign Office, but insisted on both a democratic basis for the state and its federation, and suggested the formation of a neutral ministry to govern till the autumn during the negotiations for the revision of the constitution.

The result of these promising events was that on 23 June the Regents invited Dr Milan Stojadinović to form a cabinet. The new government was accepted as one of appeasement and reconstruction, and it included Dr Spaho, the Moslem leader, and the Slovene leader, Mgr Korošec. On the other hand, except for the War Minister, General Živković, who was believed to favour conciliation of the Croats, there was a clean sweep of the figures connected with the dictatorship. The rest of the cabinet consisted of new men, either Radicals or Croatian non-political experts. Most of Dr Jevtić's three hundred deputies submissively transferred their support overnight to the new premier.

Problems of Federalism

Dr Stojadinović proceeded cautiously. He relaxed the censorship and spoke approvingly of the American two-party system, a change from the totalitarian attitude of his predecessors. But he was in no hurry to reach a settlement with Zagreb. His immediate aims seem to have been to give the régime that organized popular support which it had hitherto lacked, and to prevent the consolidation of an united *prečani* front. In August 1935, he announced the formation of a new government party, the JRZ (Jugoslav Radical Union) composed of Radicals, Slovenes and Moslems. He thus proposed to unite the strongest Serbian party with two special interests from the new provinces. The party's policy was described as including democratic government and a wide measure of autonomy. The promises seemed fair, and were welcomed by the Opposition in Belgrade and Zagreb with the proviso that the government would be judged by its deeds rather than by its words. In July a Concordat with the Holy See, which the late king had ardently desired, had been signed and it was hoped that relations with the Catholic Church would now be untroubled. Much satisfaction was caused on 1 December by a generous amnesty for political offences, which affected some 10,000 persons.

The government, however, gave no sign of an early return to true parliamentarism. Whether on that account (as was stated) or on account of personal jealousy at the promotion of a young colleague to the highest office, the committee of the Radical party announced on 31 March 1936 that they had decided to join the opposition. The Serbian foundation was thus removed from Dr Stojadinović's JRZ, which was left consisting only of the Slovenes, the Moslems and the premier's official adherents. It was not clear whether the

government was gradually liquidating the dictatorship by comparatively mild administration of the law, or merely camouflaging, with phrases and gestures, the re-entrenchment of the Army and a sprinkling of ex-Radicals in absolute power.

All shades of opinion were agreed that a solution of the Croat question must be found, and that quickly, before an explosion could take place in Europe, when the Croats might rebel and Yugoslavia be dismembered. Prince Paul had a long and cordial conversation with Dr Maček in December 1936, and they appear to have agreed on the necessity of federalism, though differing on methods of procedure.

The outlines of a possible federal solution were beginning to take shape. The Dynasty, the common Army and Foreign Office were already accepted by Dr Maček. He was now prepared to leave to the central government at least state finance, commerce, posts and telegraphs, and customs. The number and extent of the proposed federalized units were thornier problems. There were eight possible units which could claim autonomy on historic, linguistic or racial grounds—Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vojvodina and Slovenia. About Slovenia, there was no dispute. The existing *banovina* of the Drava contained hardly any Yugoslavs except the Slovenes, and their title to autonomy was accepted by all who would discuss federalism at all. But the Serbians were vigorous in declaring that Macedonia and Montenegro must be included in the Serbian unit. To which the reply of the *prečani* was that in that case the former Hapsburg provinces, except Slovenia must be theirs. That Dalmatia should be joined to Croatia-Slavonia was agreed, the only doubtful area being the extreme east of Slavonia, Srem, which was rather to be reckoned as a part of the Vojvodina.

This left the two difficult problems of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Vojvodina. In the former, the Croat minority would prefer attribution to Croatia, the much larger Serb element would vote for union with Serbia, and the Moslems would desire autonomy. The Croats, if faced with the alternative of Serbia or autonomy, would choose the latter and so give the Moslems a majority. While the Moslems, if refused autonomy, would prefer Croatia to Serbia. Any scheme of partition by which only the solidly Serb eastern border of Bosnia-Hercegovina would be merged in Serbia was resented by the Serbians, who pointed out that the number of Serbs then left in Croatia would be vastly greater than that of the Croats

in Serbia. This difficulty applied with equal force to the Vojvodina, which the Serbians claimed on the grounds that the Serbs were the largest single element in the population, that in the past the Vojvodina had been the cultural centre of Serbism and that it was geographically and economically tied to Belgrade.

The Concordat, 1937

The summer of 1937 had been marked by a curious outburst of popular feeling in Belgrade and Serbia. In July a bill, embodying the terms of the Concordat, negotiated by the Jevtić government in 1935 and largely the work of King Alexander himself, was laid before the *Skupština* (see p. 223). The bill was carried, amid an uproar inside and outside the *Skupština*, on 23 July by 167 votes to 127. The Synod of the Orthodox Church duly excommunicated all the Orthodox Ministers (except General Marić, since that might have alienated the Army) and the deputies who had voted for the bill. The JRZ ejected those of its members who had not voted for the bill. Eventually in October Dr Stojadinović capitulated and announced that the bill would not be sent on to the Senate (where he was not sure of a majority). The excommunications were lifted in February 1938, and the assembly for the election of the new patriarch, in which Orthodox Ministers had a legal right to vote, was summoned for the 24 February. Thus the project of a Concordat was indefinitely shelved and the Roman Catholic Church remained the only considerable religious body whose relations with the state were unregulated.

The whole episode was a remarkable illustration of the character of Serb Orthodoxy. The cry of 'No Popery' was perhaps the one expedient by means of which Serbian chauvinists could arouse serious opposition to the government in Serbia. The Orthodox Church in Yugoslavia is revered by the Serb peasants as the beloved and historic expression of their nationality. The Serbian bourgeoisie, accustomed to ignore their own nominal religion, were irritated to find their government coming to terms with their bugbear, the Catholic Church, which insisted on spiritual independence and ecclesiastical discipline and whose head was not amenable to secular control. Dr Maček and the Croats ignored the whole affair, whether from a desire not to see Serbo-Croat relations embittered by a religious issue, or from a suspicion that the Concordat was a bribe to detach the Catholic hierarchy from support of Croatian claims.

Dr Stojadinović's successful retention of power, caused even the Radical leaders eventually to make common cause with the Croats.

On 8 October 1937, Dr Maček for the HSS and M. Adam Pribičević for the SDS joined with the three Serbian leaders, M. Aca Stanojević (Radical), M. Davidović (Democrat) and M. J. M. Jovanović (Agrarian), in signing a manifesto of policy, which was sent to Dr Stojadinović. Its value lay not so much in the programme outlined, which was extremely vague, but rather in the spirit of Serbo-Croat co-operation which it fostered and which received tumultuous expression from the Belgrade crowd, when Dr Maček visited the capital in August 1938, accompanied by his Serb colleagues from Croatia and the Vojvodina, and spoke from a balcony to enthusiastic thousands.

Democratic arguments and defiance, however, continued to rebound off the broad shoulders of Dr Stojadinović. He rejected all demands for the revision of the constitution on the grounds that the European position was too delicate for such an experiment, that the Croats could not yet be trusted not to use autonomy as a step to secession, and even that no constitutional change could be made till the king came of age.

Foreign Relations, 1934-8

The most striking feature of Yugoslav trade in the period after the disastrous year of 1932 had been the rapid development of commercial relations with Germany. The German economic penetration had begun, after 1919, with the deliveries of machinery and technical equipment on account of reparations. German firms followed up these deliveries by supplying the demand for renewals and adapting their goods to suit Yugoslav requirements. German manufacturers thus became well established in the Yugoslav market. After the commercial treaty of 1934 Yugoslav raw materials began to be exported to Germany in rapidly increasing quantities, a process accelerated by the cessation of Yugoslav trade with Italy in 1935-6. In March 1936, Germany granted new preferential rates and quotas, to the value of 450 million dinars, in respect of Yugoslav exports of cattle, pigs and wheat; while the Yugoslav government placed considerable contracts for rolling stock, machinery and bridging material in Germany. In June 1936, Dr Schacht visited Belgrade to propose a great increase in trade by barter, and as Germany offered to take Yugoslav raw materials at prices well above world parity, it was not surprising that she obtained them. At last the unfortunate Yugoslav peasant was finding a sure market for his produce, although a large part of the price failed to reach the actual producer.

The bonds of goodwill between Germany and Yugoslavia thus became proportionately stronger and the resistance of the Yugoslav government to a possible German annexation of Austria correspondingly weaker. In the autumn came a further sign of Yugoslavia's changing international position. In his speech at Milan in November, Mussolini referred to 'the extraordinary improvement of atmosphere' between Italy and Yugoslavia and stated that there 'now exist the necessary moral, political and economic bases' for friendship. The Yugoslav premier alluded several times in speeches, early in 1937, to the continued improvement of relations with Italy, and finally Count Ciano visited Belgrade and signed a treaty of friendship on 25 March 1937. Moreover, in the meanwhile, on 24 January, a pact of 'eternal and indissoluble' friendship between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria had been signed. In itself this was all to the good. It was a further step on the path of Yugoslav-Bulgarian amity and was enthusiastically received in the country. But there were those who felt alarm at the successive departures from the policy of reliance on France and the Little Entente (Yugoslavia, Roumania and Czechoslovakia); and in April 1937, the leaders of the Serbian parties united to protest in that sense. Dr Stojadinović was able to reply that the links with Yugoslavia's old friends were as strong as ever, but that he had succeeded in converting old enemies also into friends. In other words, and in view of the heightened tension in Europe, the premier was ensuring his country's safety by conciliating all parties who might affect her position.

Behind these arguments were the growing strength of the anti-democratic powers of the Axis and the good relations of the premier with them, as well as the prosperity brought by German trade. In due course, therefore, the German conquest of Austria was taken calmly by official circles and the Belgrade press; and this attitude was defended by Dr Stojadinović in the Senate on 16 March 1938, on the grounds of German official declarations that the new German-Yugoslav frontier was henceforth inviolable and of his information that the Czechoslovak government were satisfied with the similar German declarations concerning their frontiers.

The elections of December 1938

The agitated summer of 1938 wore on; the government appearing increasingly pro-Axis, the people equally devoted to the Democracies. To strengthen his position, and to break up the apparently united Serbo-Croat opposition, Dr Stojadinović could either have

admitted some of the Serbian leaders to a share of power or come to a compromise with Dr Maček. Acting no doubt on the justified belief that the popular forces behind Dr Maček were far more effective than those of the Serbian parties, he approached the Croat leader, but without success, since his proposals fell far short of the federalism which Dr Maček demanded. But the surrender of the Western Powers at Munich in September 1938, and the revelation of Dr Stojadinović's realism in not having trusted to them seemed to offer him an excellent opportunity for an electoral victory. The usual official pressure on electors and, no doubt, some official tampering with voting-papers, combined with insistence on the bankruptcy of democracy in Europe and his promise that, if returned to power, he would negotiate with Dr Maček, seemed to assure success at the polls. The elections were held on 11 December (see p. 344). The approximate results of the elections may be compared with those of 1935 as follows:

	1935		1938
Government (Jevtić)	1,746,982	Government (Stojadinović)	1,643,783
Opposition	1,076,346	Opposition	1,364,524

The complex electoral law gave the Government 306 seats and the opposition 67; but the facts remained that the opposition had considerably increased its votes and come within a reasonable distance of defeating the official lists.

As Dr Stojadinović seemed determined to continue his régime of the 'strong hand', five Ministers—M. Cvetković (a Serbian), two Moslems and two Slovenes—seized the opportunity to resign when a fellow-Minister, on 3 February 1939, made a Serbian chauvinist speech with derogatory references to the *prečani*. Thereupon Dr Stojadinović presented the resignation of his Cabinet, which was promptly accepted. Thus the supposedly indispensable strong man disappeared from the scene. It subsequently transpired that immediately after the elections in December Prince Paul had conducted confidential negotiations with Dr Maček and had been assured that the Croats utterly distrusted Dr Stojadinović. The Prince now installed M. Cvetković in power with a mandate to achieve a settlement with the Croats.

The new government, like its predecessor, was drawn from the official JRZ and contained no outstanding political figures except the premier and the Moslem leader, Dr Spaho. This time determination to reach a settlement of the Croat question was sincere.

Hitler's seizure of Prague in March 1939—which evoked such consternation and rage as to show beyond all doubt the sentiments of the whole nation towards both Germans and Czechs—was like the writing on the wall, warning Prince Paul and his rather colourless team of politicians to agree with the Croats while there was yet time. The Frankist party, which had been almost negligible for many years (see p. 339), began to raise its head, and there were already hints that its extremist wing, under Pavelić, was being held in reserve by the Axis powers as a means of pressure upon Belgrade. Few, if any, then foresaw the rôle reserved for Pavelić in 1941.

The Sporazum, August 1939

For over six months, highly confidential negotiations were conducted between Prince Paul and Dr Maček, and it was not till late in August that all difficulties were overcome. Dr Maček had originally demanded that all the lands of the former Monarchy should form a single autonomous unit, that the constitution of 1931 should be abolished forthwith, and that a coalition government should then steer a new constitution through a Constituent Assembly. He eventually agreed to the creation of three *banovine* in the first instance—a Serbian, a Croatian and a Slovene respectively—subject to two modifications, that the southernmost tip of Dalmatia around Kotor, and the easternmost district of Slavonia, known as Srem (Syrmia), should be assigned to Serbia, and that portions of Bosnia and Western Hercegovina added to Croatia. These three provinces would be run on federal lines, and Maček, who would have preferred to add two more federal units—the Vojvodina and Bosnia-Hercegovina—insisted on leaving open the possibility of some particular district later voting itself into, or out of, one or other federal unit. All of these proposals, however, came to nothing.

By this time it was abundantly clear that Prince Paul, who all along had tried to keep the two questions, national and constitutional, strictly apart, and to solve the former without yielding on the latter, was now bent upon separating the Croats from their allies of the Serbian Opposition. The Regent undoubtedly feared that Hitler and Mussolini might make trouble if Yugoslavia adopted a frankly democratic settlement of her internal problems, though the endless demonstrations in favour of the Czechs were unmistakable signs of what the country was feeling, and how utterly out of sympathy it was with the hedging policy of the Regent.

The so-called *Sporazum* of 26 August 1939 was in the end

concluded in such a way as to give no little offence to the Serbian Opposition and to postpone the constitutional issue, as Prince Paul had wished. Dr Maček was reproached in many quarters for not having insisted on the inclusion of his allies of the three parties in any joint action. In actual fact he only yielded to the direct appeal of the First Regent, recognizing that a European war was imminent and that to leave the Croat question still unregulated would have been to play into the hands of the Frankist extremists.

The *Sporazum* provided for the creation of a new *banovina* which was to be known as 'Croatia'. It comprised a population of 4,400,000 out of a total of 14,000,000: of these 164,000 were Moslems and 866,000 Serbs, the Croats forming 74 per cent of those inside the new boundaries. The office of Ban was restored to its historic importance, and the *Sabor* or Diet of Zagreb was revived for specific purposes—foreign affairs, defence, commerce, transport and public security being reserved for the central government. The legislative power was to be shared by *Sabor* and crown, and the Ban was to be appointed and dismissed by the latter. At the same time the existing artificial *Skupština* was dissolved, and the government was authorized to prepare a new electoral law, and laws on the press, and rights of association and assembly (see p. 334).

The new government formed on this basis was a coalition, under M. Cvetković as Premier, with Dr Maček as Vice-Premier and M. Cincar-Marković as Foreign Minister (see p. 345). Maček, and his nominee for the Banship, Dr Šubašić, who enjoyed the Prince's confidence, lost no time in setting the new autonomy in motion, with its centre at Zagreb. There was a political amnesty, and the Zagreb press became so out-spoken, not to say indiscreet, as to become the envy of the still much-censored press of Belgrade. The dominant note of the new régime in Croatia was that 'the peasant wants to be, and will be, the chief factor in his fatherland'. But there was much unrest below the surface, and a crop of outrages in Zagreb itself prompted Dr Maček to issue a manifesto denouncing these anarchic tendencies as unchristian and as endangering the national future. This was an unmistakable hit at the Frankist extremists, who now looked to Hitler for the achievement of a mock-independent status for Croatia. The *Sporazum* undoubtedly produced some measure of agreement, but the opportunity for a real political settlement had been missed.

Prince Paul and the Axis, 1940

In February 1940 the four Foreign Ministers of the Balkan Entente (Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Roumania) conferred in Belgrade and issued grandiloquent pronouncements calculated to cover up the painful fact that the Balkan Entente had come to an abrupt end. M. Cincar-Marković quite gratuitously argued that the Balkans were not threatened from any side, and paid compliments varying in warmth to Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary—to the first especially for ‘her wise attitude of non-belligerency’. Though this Balkan window-dressing deceived no one, there can be no doubt that Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations showed a steady upward tendency. Another sign of the times was the restoration of trade relations between Belgrade and Moscow, after an interruption of 20 years (Yugoslavia having been the most intransigent of all European states towards Soviet Russia), and the marked satisfaction publicly displayed by the Bulgarian Foreign Minister at this step on the part of the neighbouring state. The intense alarm at the long series of Germany’s aggressive acts and the sense of insecurity generated by the loss of the Škoda armament works as a source of military supply and by the inability of the Western Powers to make good even one per cent of the deficiency, help to explain the current of Russophil opinion which now spread through Serbia and Croatia, and led to the dispatch of first a trade, then a military, delegation to Moscow. The restoration of diplomatic relations followed logically. On the other hand, M. Stojadinović was interned by the government in the remote mountain village of Rudnik.

The fall of France in June 1940 and the September *Blitzkrieg* against Britain caused almost universal dismay in Yugoslavia; and though the way in which Britain rallied round Mr Churchill caused corresponding jubilation in all sections of the Yugoslav nation, it was realized that Britain would not in the near future be in a position to send practical help to her friends in the Balkans, and there were therefore a few opportunists in high quarters who favoured a ‘realist acceptance of hard facts’—a euphemism for coming to terms with the Axis. While the first German troops began to arrive in Roumania, ostensibly as ‘instructors’, and while Berlin scarcely deigned to conceal its plans, Belgrade made a great show of neutrality, but talked very categorically of resistance to aggression from whatever quarter, and of the impossibility of permitting the transit of foreign troops across Yugoslav soil. Italy’s treacherous attack upon Greece still further incensed Yugoslav opinion against the Axis, and the

Jugoslav General Staff, encouraged by the success of Greek resistance, was inclined to join hands for the defence of Salonica against Italy. Berlin privately encouraged Belgrade to take possession of Salonica while the Greeks were occupied elsewhere, but the trap was altogether too obvious.

On 6 November, General Milan Nedić was replaced as War Minister by General Pešić, a distinguished officer of the previous war, who had latterly made several doubtful incursions into politics and diplomacy, but who seemed best qualified for a Pétainist role. This occurred only a few days after Italian planes had twice dropped bombs on Bitolj (Monastir)—as a sort of reprisal, it was alleged, for the Yugoslav refusal to allow Italy to outflank the Greek right wing by crossing Yugoslav territory. This gave rise to two entirely contradictory versions of Nedić's departure—on the one hand that he was dismissed as anti-German, and on the other that he had submitted a memorandum urging agreement with the Axis and had resented its rejection. The latter is now known to have been nearer the facts. Already those in authority in Yugoslavia were reduced to a policy of anxious negation, clinging to neutrality and playing for time, but utterly at a loss where to rearm or to find allies.

At this early stage of the Balkan tragedy the Turks were specially alarmed and annoyed at King Boris's visit to Berchtesgaden, and warned Sofia that they would not remain inactive in the event of a Bulgarian attack on Greece. They saw the Balkan Entente dissolving before their very eyes, and proposed to Belgrade an immediate Turco-Yugoslav military convention. This was not merely refused by Prince Paul, but carefully concealed from all Yugoslav statesmen, save the pliable Cvetković and Cincar-Marković. Another feature of Prince Paul's balancing policy in these final months of crisis was his cordial response to overtures from Budapest, almost certainly made under prompting from Berlin and Rome. The 'pact of lasting peace and eternal friendship' signed by Hungary at Belgrade on 12 December was received without enthusiasm by a public which had in no way forgotten the fate of Czechoslovakia.

THE FINAL CRISIS, 1941

German intimidation

It was early in 1941 that Yugoslavia showed the first open leanings towards the Axis. On 15 February M. Cvetković and M. Cincar-Marković were summoned to meet Ribbentrop at Salzburg, and to the

Führer's mountain eyrie at Berchtesgaden. At this meeting Cincar-Marković appears to have assured Hitler that Yugoslavia had done all in her power to prevent Greece from accepting British help, and was now ready to give him a guarantee that she would not become an instrument of British policy against the Reich. Hitler thereupon suggested as a fitting achievement of Yugoslav policy the adhesion of the three still neutral Balkan Powers—Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey—to the Tripartite Pact between Germany, Italy and Japan; otherwise he made no specific demands and was full of soft phrases, stressing his eagerness to see Yugoslavia take her rightful place among the powers of South Eastern Europe.

Prince Paul was now in the toils. At the very moment when Cincar-Marković was absent on a brief return visit to Budapest for the purpose of ratifying the new Hungaro-Yugoslav Pact, Bulgaria took the final plunge; and on 1 March her premier, M. Filov, flew to Vienna to sign Bulgaria's adherence—a step which was at once followed by the entry of German troops into Bulgaria. Prince Paul, too, visited Berchtesgaden in dire secrecy on 3 March. On his return he argued that it was specially difficult for him to make concessions to Germany, owing to his close contacts with Greece and Britain, yet he felt impelled to save the country from war at all costs. In the end it was decided to resume negotiations with Germany. At this stage Prince Paul still hugged the illusion that in return for signing the Tripartite Pact, he would be dispensed from giving the Axis military help or even from opening his territory to German troops in transit. On 13 March the cabinet resumed its discussions, and by this time it was doubtful whether even adherence to the Tripartite Pact would avert warlike complications. As there were already grounds for fearing that Germany was looking round for puppets capable of replacing those actually in power, it was considered wiser to remove M. Stojadinović out of harm's way; on 19 March, in agreement with the British and Greek governments, he was sent from his place of internment to Athens and thence to the island of Mauritius. That Prince Paul consented to the banishment of Stojadinović is generally ascribed to fear lest the latter would overthrow the weak Cvetković and assume control of the situation.

When the cabinet met again on 20 March, Prince Paul was already resigned to what he regarded as the inevitable, and held that the patriarch and the chiefs of the opposition should be informed of the position. In the diplomatic corps it was already feared that Paul's intense unpopularity might provoke an upheaval and that his

overthrow, if it took place, might involve the Serbo-Croat *Sporazum*, upon which national unity precariously rested. The first public sign of trouble came on 21 March with the resignation of four Ministers. During the crucial discussion the War Minister, General Pešić, absented himself. Maček's attitude was extremely reserved, but he did not vote against compliance with the German proposals, though by doing so he would probably have tipped the scales against Prince Paul.

The final proposals which Cvetković and Cincar-Marković were instructed by the Prince Regent and cabinet to take with them to Vienna, were that Jugoslavia should adhere to the Tripartite Pact, but with a special protocol suspending certain clauses; in return for this, she would be given a guarantee of her existing frontiers and not compelled to join in the impending military action of the Axis. It is, however, scarcely credible that any of the Ministers can have seriously supposed that they would be let off with an agreement which gave Germany nothing save a paper pledge, and those who resigned were therefore convinced that secret clauses were held in reserve. In any case, the Premier and Foreign Minister left Belgrade on 24 March for Vienna, despite the parting warning that under no circumstances would Britain 'condone' such action. They signed the Pact next day and returned to Belgrade on 26 March to be confronted with a situation that was completely out of hand.

Prince Paul's motives

Three main motives had determined Prince Paul's action. In the first place, he was obsessed—and with good reason—by the military unpreparedness into which his régime had allowed the country to drift during the previous seven years, and which had become acute since the fall of Czechoslovakia and the acquisition of the Škoda armament plants by Germany. He knew that the democracies were unable to supply Jugoslavia or Turkey with war material. He and his generals knew, too, that, quite apart from deficiencies of arms and training, the northern frontier was indefensible, that the railway system was entirely inadequate for purposes of war, that the defence of Belgrade could be outflanked both from Temesvar and from the Fruška Gora, and that the sole hope of a successful defence lay in abandoning the four principal cities—Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Subotica—to enemy occupation, with unforeseeable consequences.

His second obsession was Bolshevism, which, he was uncomfortably aware, might make its appeal to a people thoroughly tired of

dictatorship and now enraged at the discovery of its military incompetence.

There was a third and probably decisive motive to Prince Paul's action. In 1939 he had genuinely desired a solution of the Serbo-Croat dispute, but had held out stubbornly until Maček consented to base that solution on a direct agreement between himself and the Prince, instead of basing it on a concentration of all parties, and above all, of the three parties which really represented something in Serbia proper. But this would infallibly have meant the end of the dictatorship and the re-establishment of a democratic régime, and to that he was firmly opposed—using the flimsy pretext that there could be no change of régime until the young king came of age in September 1941. In exactly the same way, in March 1941, to have yielded to the popular demand would have involved replacing the Cvetković government (which was entirely unrepresentative of Serbia, and could only exist by the complaisance of the Croat and Slovene parties which really stood for their respective peoples) by a coalition or concentration in the face of which the dictatorship would have shrivelled and collapsed. The signing of the Pact was not only a vital act of foreign policy; it was the Prince's last bid for retention of power at home.

The Coup d'Etat

The journey of the two Ministers to Vienna had been concealed from the general public, but was widely suspected, and on 26 March, when they returned to Belgrade, the news spread like wildfire. That night a bloodless *coup d'état* was effected; MM. Cvetković and Cincar-Marković, the Regents Stanković and Perović, and other high officials, were placed under arrest; King Peter's majority was proclaimed (though he would not be 18 till September 1941); and Prince Paul (who after hearing the report of his two dutiful Ministers had quickly left Belgrade for his castle of Brdo near the Slovene frontier) was stopped at Zagreb by telephonic order of the new government and sent back to Belgrade, where, after a short interval, he and his family followed M. Stojadinović into exile (this time in Kenya, not Mauritius). Finding no support from any direction, he submitted unconditionally, and thus deprived the wilder spirits of any temptation to more drastic action.

The suddenness and complete success of the *coup d'état* were due to the coalescing of a number of different elements; first and foremost, the younger officers, regular and reservist, in marked contrast

to 'the Generals', as the phrase ran; then all the old Serbian parties; then the students, and a considerable number of the staff, of Belgrade University; and, not least of all, the Orthodox clergy and hierarchy, led by the Patriarch Gavriilo.

A new cabinet was now formed under General Simović, with Dr Maček and Professor Slobodan Jovanović as vice-premiers, and it can be said without exaggeration that, since the creation of Yugoslavia, no government so representative of all sections of opinion from Left to Right had ever held office.

The tremendous ovations and demonstrations throughout the country which greeted the change of government, left Hitler in no manner of doubt as to popular sentiment. The rebuff came at a specially awkward moment, when the Japanese Foreign Minister was visiting Berlin. It was rubbed in further by public statements from Mr Churchill and Mr Sumner Welles; and the official Moscow journal, *Pravda*, while denying the story that the Soviet government had congratulated Belgrade, took care to add that the Yugoslav people was worthy of its glorious past and deserved congratulations. On the other hand the Nazi propagandist machine launched a violent campaign against Yugoslavia, publishing a mass of entirely imaginary atrocities. The procedure was the same as that against Czechoslovakia in 1938, when elaborate details were woven round places where no incident of any kind had occurred. Chaos, it was claimed, now reigned in Yugoslavia, promoted by 'agents of Britain'.

General Simović issued an Order of the Day, urging calm and bidding people remain at their posts and avoid demonstrations or spreading of rumours. The proclamation of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana as open cities showed that the government was under no illusions. In Zagreb, Dr Maček issued a remarkable manifesto to the Croats, speaking as 'A Christian who recalls Christ's word, "Blessed are the Peacemakers."' He had done all he could for peace; he would now co-operate with men who had been his allies in most critical times, and who would both respect and extend Croat interests.

The Invasion

At 5 a.m. on Sunday, 6 April, Goebbels broadcast Hitler's message, informing the German people that their troops had already invaded Yugoslavia and Greece during the night, and laying the entire blame upon Britain—'the worst friend which the Continent had possessed for three centuries'. The Vienna Pact, he declared,

had been welcomed as preventing an extension of the war; but those who signed it were overthrown by a military clique in British pay, 'with the explicit announcement that this was necessary in view of the government's attitude towards Germany'. Even Hitler's habitual recklessness of statement was far surpassed by his assertion that the alleged anti-German incidents of the past week were the work of the same people who drove the world into war by the Sarajevo murders: 'now, as then, this military clique of criminals was financed and incited by the British Secret Service'. Within 48 hours of this manifesto, Hitler was engaged in entrusting the administration of large parts of Yugoslavia to his agents, and it became clear that he had a plan, long since worked out in every detail, for the disruption of Yugoslavia. Specially addressing his troops, Hitler bade them show themselves 'humane wherever your enemy opposes you humanely. Where he shows his innate brutality, you will crush him ruthlessly and relentlessly'. Within two hours of this proclamation, without any declaration of war, the German Air Force was systematically bombarding the open city of Belgrade. Many public buildings were destroyed, including the king's palace at Dedinje, but not the Prince Regent's palace a few hundred yards away, and the loss of life was estimated at 20,000, though exact figures may never be known.

Meanwhile, at 3 a.m.—just two hours before Hitler's manifesto—a Pact of Friendship had been signed between Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia; but, though giving a mutual guarantee of territorial integrity and non-aggression, it did not commit either party to intervene in the event of aggression by a third Power. It was, however, an unmistakable sign that Moscow saw through the game of Berlin. Next day Mr Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons, paid homage to the Yugoslav people and compared their 'universal spasm of revolt and national resurgence' with that which 'in 1808 convulsed and glorified the people of Spain'. Unhappily, in his next statement on 3 May he had to tell the House that the Yugoslavs had 'saved the soul and future of their country, but it was already too late to save its territory.' For the *Blitzkrieg* had swept all before it. The Yugoslav government hurriedly withdrew from Belgrade into the interior of the Šumadija, then by successive stages to Sarajevo and to Nikšić. Almost from the first, both the government and the High Command lost full control of communications between themselves and the operating armies, which had been only partially mobilized at the eleventh hour.

The High Command had expected the Germans to enter Yugoslavia from the north and, in consequence, had concentrated their main resistance there, depriving General Nedić's southern army of equipment, and omitting to form a joint system of defence with the Greeks. But the main German attack came not from the north but from the eastern frontier with Bulgaria, across to Skoplje and over the difficult mountain ranges into the lower Vardar valley. On 4 April the German army had been massed in Western Bulgaria along the frontier and, on the 6th and 7th, mechanized divisions under Field Marshal List crossed the Yugoslav frontier from the direction of Kustendil and, after defeating the Yugoslav 3rd army, occupied Skoplje on the 9th, and cut the Vardar valley route. At the same time other divisions crossed the frontier from Petrić, and drove through the Strumica gap, turning the uncovered left flank of the Greeks and reaching Salonica by 9 April. Another German column, under General von Kleist, crossed the frontier with Bulgaria farther to the north and, by the fourth day of war, 9 April, Niš had been occupied. Two days later Kragujevac, attacked by von Kleist from the south, had fallen, while the Panzer vanguard of the other German forces under List had already reached Bitolj and the north-west shore of Lake Ohrid at Struga, where they joined Italian troops which had advanced from Albania. Bulgarian forces, following in their rear, occupied Ohrid on 13 April.

Meanwhile, in the north-west, the country had not been seriously defended, owing to sabotage, lack of munitions and the breakdown of communications. On 6 April, German troops had invaded Slovenia, occupying Maribor on the 9th, while Italian forces entered from the south-west and took Ljubljana on the 11th. Other German troops crossed the Drava into northern Croatia on the 10th, capturing Zagreb by a rapid thrust of Panzers on the same day. At noon the Ban of Croatia was informed of the withdrawal of the Yugoslav High Command, and was given exactly half an hour in which to evacuate the city.

In the north-east, other armies, Hungarian and German, had invaded the Vojvodina and Slavonia from three directions, the Hungarians concentrating on Bačka and Baranja, while the Germans entered Slavonia from Hungary and the Banat from Temesvar in Roumania. Belgrade was occupied on the afternoon of 12 April by a small detachment of German troops which had crossed the Sava, while the Hungarians penetrated to Novi Sad and Osijek. The capital was formally captured at dawn on 13 April by von

Kleist's army which had marched up from Niš. On 15 April the government, with King Peter, escaped by plane to Greece and thence to Palestine, eventually reaching London on 21 June. Sarajevo was captured on 16 April by German troops moving west from Kragujevac and south from Zagreb, while the Italians had overrun the whole of the Adriatic coast and were advancing in Hercegovina towards Mostar. On the evening of the next day, following the surrender of their 2nd army, the Yugoslav High Command capitulated, after negotiating for two days at Belgrade and Sarajevo.

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Chapter III

THE PEOPLE

The Origin of the Southern Slavs: Pre-Slav Population; The Coming of the Slavs; The Turkish Period; Physical Characteristics

Language: The Indo-European Background; Serbo-Croat; Slovene; Standardization of the Written Language

Religion: Before the Turkish Conquest; From the Turkish Conquest to 1918; Between the Two Wars, 1919-39

Education: General Standard; Primary Education; Secondary Education; Technical Education; Higher Education; Physical Education; Note on the Press

Distribution of Minorities: Germans; Magyars; Albanians; Roumanians; Turks; Other Slavs; Italians; Jews

Bibliographical Note

THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS

PRE-SLAV POPULATION

Comparatively little is known of the peoples occupying the territory now included within Yugoslavia before the coming of the Slavs. It is clear, however, that already in these regions there was a considerable population of varied origins whose history extends back at least a thousand years before the main Slav infiltrations took place.

That the area was peopled even at the time of the early Iron Age (Hallstatt period), long before the dawn of history, is attested in many localities by archaeological remains, but the first historical references to the descendants of these ancient peoples are those made by the ancient Greeks, who, about the fifth century B.C., referred collectively to the various tribes inhabiting the western and central Balkan peninsula as the Illyrians and Thracians. As far as Yugoslav territory is concerned, the Illyrians occupied the area west of the Vardar and north of Epirus (i.e. mainly the lands that physically have been described as the Dinaric region). The Thracians occupied the area to the east of this, including the territory that in later history was to become Serbia.

The characteristics and mode of life of these peoples are obscure, but it is thought that of the two, the Illyrians were the later comers who drove the Thracians eastward into the central Balkan regions.



Plate 1. The ruins of Salona

Salona (Solin), four miles north-east of Split at the estuary of the river Jadar, was originally a Greek settlement (Aspalaton) and later the residence of the Roman governor of Dalmatia. In the third century it became the seat of a bishopric. The city was destroyed by the Avars in the seventh century.



Plate 2. The palace of Diocletian at Split

After his abdication in A.D. 305, the emperor Diocletian built a palace at Split. In the seventh century the citizens of Salona, fleeing from the Avars, sought refuge within the palace precincts; this was the origin of the town of Spalato (Split). The town is still dominated by the ruins of the great palace.



Plate 3. The walls of Dubrovnik (Ragusa)

Dubrovnik was first settled by citizens of Epidaurus (Cavtat) and Salona, escaping from the barbarian invasions; they were later joined by Slav settlers. Within the double line of medieval fortifications, which survived the great earthquake of 1667, there are many notable examples of local architecture, including the Rectors' palace (1388), rebuilt in 1463 by Michelozzo Michelozzi and Georgio Orsini. The photograph shows the walls descending seawards from the Minčeta Tower, built in 1464.



Plate 4. Francopan castle at Novi

The Francopani and Zrinski families were outstanding among the medieval Croat nobility. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Croat nobles were alarmed at the growth of royal power and gradually drew closer to Hungary; the conspiracy of 1671 resulted in the extinction of the Francopani and Zrinski families and in the confiscation of their vast estates. The castle at Novi, south-east of Crikvenica and overlooking the Vinodol, dates from the thirteenth century.

By some authorities the modern Albanians are thought to represent the only relic of the ancient Illyrian population that has survived to the present day.

Over a period from about 770–550 B.C. the coastlands and islands of the eastern Adriatic were influenced by the spread of Greek trading colonies. These were most frequent in the central coastal districts where there were important colonies at Vis (Issa), Korčula (Korkyra nigra), Hvar (Pharos), Trogir (Tragurion) and Split (Salona). The Greek colonization was, however, never very strongly felt and it had little influence on the life of the peoples inland.

At about the same time, at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., there was a marked infiltration in the north and north-west, in Illyria, of the so-called 'Celtic' peoples from central Europe. Though these peoples have left a record of their influences in the place names of Dalmatia and elsewhere, they represent a strain in the population that was quickly assimilated by the Illyrians.

The influence of the growing Roman empire to the west began to be felt in the third century B.C. (see p. 2). From then onwards, the Romans made a number of expeditions into the area, but they did not finally annex it until A.D. 9. Of the varied lands that constitute present-day Yugoslavia, only that coinciding with the northern and central parts of the Bačka remained unsubdued, outside the Roman frontier. Culturally, the Roman influence was of the greatest importance. Commerce and industry flourished, and the indigenous population was largely Romanized, while Roman roads were built widely across the country from the coasts inland. The Illyrian peoples of the western Balkans, especially, became an important source of man-power for the Roman legions, while more than one emperor came from humble Illyrian stock. The massive remains of the great palace of Diocletian which still front the sea at Split harbour are a reminder of this fact. Widespread and considerable though these cultural influences were, the composition of the indigenous population can hardly have been affected, for the Roman officials and merchants settled mainly in the towns and in the mining centres, and they cannot have been numerous relative to the rest of the population.

The fifth century A.D. brought great changes, for the invasions associated with the break-up of the Roman empire greatly affected Illyria. Visigoths, Huns, Ostrogoths and Avars, together with many lesser groups, passed through the area or raided into it. They disturbed the existing population and may themselves have contributed

'pockets' of people and some ethnic strains, but they certainly did not settle in any large numbers. At the end of the fifth century A.D. the western Balkan peoples seem substantially to have been what they were in the fourth century B.C., except that culturally they had fallen under the civilizing influence of Rome.

THE COMING OF THE SLAVS

All this was changed in the latter part of the sixth and the first half of the seventh centuries. To the north, the Slav peoples were expanding in all directions from their homeland around the Pripet marshes. They seem to have been driven southwards by the Avars centred in the plain of Hungary, and this widespread movement had a great effect upon the population of the Balkans. By A.D. 650, the newcomers were in full occupation of the western Balkans, and they spread southwards, even to the Peloponnese. It is impossible to estimate what was the proportion of the Slav newcomers to the indigenous population, but, at any rate, the newcomers proved dominant, and assimilated the other peoples to their own language. So widespread were the Slav settlements that much of the Balkan lands, including mainland Greece, became known by the eighth century as Sclavinia (Fig. 47).

There were three exceptions to the assimilation. In the cities of the coastlands, the Latin civilization was maintained, and here the pre-Slav elements continued in strength, and Illyria became a 'Slavonic land with a Latin fringe', although succeeding centuries were greatly to increase the purely Slav element within the fringe itself. A second exception to assimilation was formed by the scattered and transhumant remnants of the Roman provincials who preserved a separate identity here and there in the interior. They were known as 'Mavrovlachs' or 'Morlachs'; there was a 'Major Vlachia' in the region where the frontiers of Bosnia, Dalmatia and Croatia meet, and a 'Minor Vlachia' as far north as Požega between the Sava and the Drava, while northern Dalmatia and Croatia were known as 'Morlacchia' in the eighteenth century (see p. 3). One of the regions of Serbia is still known as 'Stari Vlah', i.e. Old Wallachia. Although they managed to maintain their separate character for a long time, all these remnants were destined to become completely Slavonicized. Finally, in the south, there were some tribes who had escaped Romanization and now, too, they escaped Slavonicization, and so became the Albanians of later times.



Fig. 47. The Balkan peninsula about A.D. 800

Based on R. L. Poole, *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*, plate 4 (Oxford, 1902). This map shows dominant political groupings rather than ethnic distributions; thus Slavs were also to be found in the areas marked as 'Avars' and 'Bulgars'. The outermost limits of Charlemagne's empire are indicated; the facts do not warrant a definite line, and authorities differ in their estimate of where it should run. The Franks here left a trace of their former rule in the name of the 'Fruška Gora' mountains, south of the Danube in Srem. So widespread were the settlements of the Slavs, that, by the eighth century, the southern Balkan lands and mainland Greece were known as 'Sclavinia'. The limits of the Byzantine empire were, of course, indeterminate and constantly changing.

The Slavs who inherited the western and central Balkans comprised three groups—the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (or *Slovenci*, *Hrvati* and *Srbi*). These names are of ancient derivation. Originally, practically all Slav tribes seem to have been known by the general name *Sloveni*, possibly from *Sclaveni*, from which the word 'Slav'

is in fact derived. One tribe retained this general name in a slightly modified form to the present day, i.e. in *Slovenec* (singular), *Slovenci* (plural), or the 'Slovenes', as we call them.

It is thought by some authorities that the name of the other two groups—i.e. the Serbs and Croats—represent their original local tribal names, for both words are known to be of ancient origin. Thus the word 'Sirbi' (Srbi) is mentioned by classical writers of the first and second centuries with reference to a Slav people in Russia, while, according to other authorities the word for Croats (Hrvati) is derived from an ancient Slav word for 'Carpathians'. Sixth-century writers called the Croats, 'Chrovati', 'Horvati', and 'Hrvati'. Whatever may have been the origin of these older words, the expression Yugoslav (i.e. 'Southern Slav') is comparatively modern. It dates only from the eighteenth century when it first appeared in scientific literature and gradually spread from this into common usage.

The early distinctions between the three Slav groups are obscure, but, in any case, they were to be accentuated by cultural factors. In the early Middle Ages, the Slovenes and Croats fell under western and Roman Catholic influences and adopted the Latin alphabet, while the Serbs fell under the influence of the Greek Orthodox Church and adopted the Cyrillic alphabet (see p. 208). This distinction was to continue throughout all later history.

THE TURKISH PERIOD

The Turkish period from the fifteenth century onward contributed very few ingredients to the mass of the Yugoslav people. Turkish officials and soldiers formed only a very small element in relation to the total population of the area, and, as the Turkish frontier retreated, these emigrated back to Ottoman territory. Fig. 48 shows the western borders of the Turkish *čiflik* which marks the extreme limit of Turkish settlement on the land. Any appreciable Turkish settlement was limited to Macedonia—to the valley of the Vardar and the country to the east. The descendants of these settlers, or many of them, still remain here, for Yugoslav Macedonia, unlike Greek Macedonia, was not emptied of its Turkish element by exchanges of population after the war of 1914-18.

But although the Turkish period contributed no very great element to the population, it had a profound effect upon the Yugoslavs. The Turkish advance into the Balkan lands, during the latter part of the

fourteenth century, resulted in numerous Slav migrations that continued, in one form or another, for five centuries or so—until after the liberation of the Christian states. The migrations were due to the fact that the establishment of the alien Moslem civilization created general conditions—economic and political—distasteful to most of the Christian population (see p. 91). There were specific causes too. Recruitment for the janissaries led many parents to seek



Fig. 48. Turkish settlement and the Čiflik before 1918

Based on two folding maps in J. Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique: Géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918).

For the effects of the exchanges of population in the Greek lands after 1923, see N.I.D. Handbook on Greece, vol. 1, Fig. 108.

refuge with their children in other lands; the fear of reprisals after revolts sent many Christians away; the Austro-Turkish wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries involved other Christians and drew them into Austrian and Hungarian lands; the ravages of the *krdzali* bands at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, together with the general anarchy of the time, produced further Christian emigration. To these specific causes must be added famine, bad harvests, the effects of drought on the barren karstlands, overpopulation in some localities, and the general desire of the mountaineers for a better life on the mesopotamian lands of the north. The main direction of movement was in fact northward, into the Šumadija (where the newcomers helped to clear

the forests), and across the Sava and the Danube into Slavonia, Srem (Syrmia), the Banat, Bačka and Baranja. But a westward movement, too, was important—into the coastlands of Dalmatia.

The historic homeland of the medieval Serb states in Zeta and Raška thus lost a great proportion of its population. Many villages were left empty, to be invaded by scrub and woodland; and into much of the vacated lands Albanians and others came as colonists, either settled by the Ottomans or on their own initiative (Fig. 55). To balance this loss, a new Serbian area came into being in the north, in the Vojvodina, and formed a linguistic bulwark against the Magyar peoples.

Some of the Slav migrations were on a large scale, involving tens of thousands of people; others were merely the movement of individual families. The large migrations are recorded in historical documents, e.g. the northward trek of some 30,000–40,000 families under Patriarch Arsen III of Peć in 1691 (see p. 96). But the full story of the movement can never be known; the great mass of obscure migrations has remained unrecorded, and documentary evidence alone cannot therefore provide a full picture. The Serbian geographer, Jovan Cvijić, however, organized a large-scale investigation to see what light could be thrown on the question by local dialects, traditions, names, costumes. The *zadruga* organization, with its family records, and the South Slav fondness for recording history in poetry and in ballads, helped him in his task. Twenty years' work enabled him and his colleagues to construct maps on a scale of 1/200,000 showing the origin of each family in almost every village in Serbia. The result of all the evidence, documentary and otherwise, is shown in a very generalized fashion on Fig. 49.

To these migrations Cvijić gave the name 'mouvements métanastasiques' (i.e. changes of habitat), and he was able to demonstrate some well-marked historic lines of movement to the north and west. These movements involved considerable organization, and Cvijić has summed up their general features as follows:

'In travelling in the Peninsula, I have often met long processions from Montenegro or the region of Novi Pazar and Sjenica going towards Serbia. They were always families owning little or no land themselves. According to an ancient custom, one member of the *zadruga* was left behind with his family in possession of the houses and the large household goods that could not be transported. The other possessions were carried by horses that went in line ahead of the company. Along with this caravan went sheep and

cattle, but very few ploughing oxen. Each large migration was preceded by scouts who chose the areas suitable for colonization, and who sometimes stayed in these areas for years before the actual exodus began. Monks and priests who had travelled across the



Fig. 49. Main lines of migration in Yugoslav lands from the fifteenth century onward

Based on J. Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique: Géographie humaine*, folding map (Paris, 1918).

Abbreviations: B. Belgrade; Bi. Bitolj (Monastir); O. Ohrid; N. Novi Pazar; P. Prizren; S. Skoplje; Sa. Sarajevo; Si. Šibenik; Z. Zagreb.

Orthodox countries of the Peninsula and beyond, were able, thanks to their knowledge, to determine the direction of the migration and the choice of country for colonization. The various emigrant groups joined together in one body or formed a number of *zadrugas* in alliance with one another. They installed some of their members near passes and fords along the routes, and these

“houses”, well-known and often famous, welcomed and sheltered the newcomers over several generations. In this way was assured the security of the emigrants through a region. An elaborate system of precautions was taken to safeguard the migrations.’ *

Occasionally, there were reverse movements back into the homeland, especially when, at times, the Austro-Hungarian régime became too unpalatable to the Orthodox Serbs (see p. 96). Moreover, with the establishment of Serbian autonomy, many Christians came back, and these, together with immigrants from all the South Slav lands, played a great part in the building up of the new Serbian state in the nineteenth century. Taken together, all this flux of population to and fro over a period of 500 years served to unify the character of the Serbo-Croat people, and constituted a most important feature of the Turkish régime in the South Slav lands. Important as it was, however, the mixing and stirring did not succeed in breaking down the fundamental difference of outlook between the Roman Catholic Croats, with a Latin alphabet, and the Orthodox Serbs with a Cyrillic alphabet. This is a difference that still remains.

PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES

In this country so many successive ‘layers’ of peoples have been superimposed throughout prehistoric and historical times, that there is wide variety in the physical characteristics of the people. The prevailing type encountered amongst the Southern Slavs generally, may be summarized as broad-headed, broad-faced, tall, and mainly brunet, with the head small for the stature.

The most striking feature in the distribution of physical types in Jugoslavia—in so far as these can be differentiated—is the dominance of an unusually tall and broad-headed people over a wide belt of country coinciding with the western mountain systems of Bosnia, Dalmatia, Montenegro and western Croatia. The average stature throughout this region is tall (i.e. more than 5 ft. 8 in.) and with this stature the head is often very broad. The hair is generally dark, the face very long, with the nose arched or aquiline. Of these peoples, the Montenegrins tend to be the tallest; indeed, they are among the tallest peoples of Europe.

The Serbians, to the east, also vary considerably in their characteristics, but the great majority have dark-brown and black hair and

* J. Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique: Géographie humaine*, p. 128 (Paris, 1918).

are tall in stature. They do, however, include a small number of tall and surprisingly fair-haired, long-headed peoples, and because of this, the percentage of people with fair or light coloured hair is higher in Serbia than in any other part of the Balkan peninsula (5%–10% in Serbia as compared with less than 5% in other parts of the peninsula).

In the north of Yugoslavia, these characteristics become somewhat obscured in the Drava, Sava and Danube country, where admixture has been particularly great. The Slovenes show a stronger tendency to medium-brown-to-blond hair, while light and light-mixed eyes total nearly 70%. Within Slovenia, however, there are many local differences.

LANGUAGE

THE INDO-EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

Linguistic unity has been one of the few constant factors in the troubled history of the Southern Slavs, and the consciousness of this unity has more than once been used as a political lever. Although there are several enclaves of Turkish, Albanian, Italian, German and Magyar speakers within it (see p. 236), the region of South Slav speech to-day extends in a continuous belt from the Black Sea to the Alps. This speech belongs to the Slavonic group of the Indo-European family of languages, and, judging from the signs of close relationship that still exist between them, it is likely that the Slavonic group at one time formed a single unit with the Baltic group of languages (Old Prussian, Lithuanian and Lettish or Latvian).

There are three main divisions within the Slavonic group:

- (i) The Southern division, consisting of Serbo-Croat, Slovene and Bulgarian.
- (ii) The Eastern division, consisting of Russian, White Russian and Ruthenian (also called Ukrainian and Little Russian).
- (iii) The Western division, consisting of Polish, Kashubian, Slovincian, Sorb (or Wendish), Czech and Slovak.

Unlike most of the Indo-European language groups, the several languages of the Slavonic group did not enter upon their separate development until the eighth century—a comparatively late period. For a long time, the original Slavonic language remained a 'bundle' of dialects, and the fact that its essential unity was unbroken until

after the age of Charlemagne is shown by the way in which *Karl*, a form of the emperor's name, was borrowed into Slavonic in the sense of 'king', as attested in Russian *korol'*, Serbo-Croat *kralj* and Polish *król*. Not only was the actual division of the Slavonic dialects into separate and distinct languages a recent happening of the ninth century, but linguistic evolution from the parent Indo-European had also been slow. As a result, the whole Slavonic group of languages shows more homogeneity and less differentiation than do such groups as the Romance and the Germanic languages. With the Baltic group, Slavonic comes next only to Sanskrit, Greek and Lithuanian in its importance for the study of the original Indo-European language.

Serbo-Croat and Slovene are the two major languages in Yugoslavia to-day, and they are spoken by about 84% of the total population. Their separation was the inevitable result of geographical factors, political events and diverse cultural influences, but they are kindred languages and the close ties of affinity between them remain strong.

SERBO-CROAT

The term Serbo-Croat is a convenient label invented by grammarians to describe a language now written in two alphabets—Cyrillic and Latin (see p. 388). Despite its double name, the language forms a complete unity and is called by Yugoslav scholars the Serb or Croat language (*Srpski ili hrvatski jezik*). According to the census of 1921, there were 8,911,509 Serbo-Croat speakers in the kingdom and to-day they form about 76% of the total population.

In view of the part played both by historical and geographical factors within the area of Serbo-Croat speech, it is not surprising that a diversity of dialects has arisen (Fig. 50), but it is not easy to draw exact lines of demarcation between them. The three major dialects are 'Kajkavian', 'Čakavian' and 'Štokavian'; these names are derived from the three words *kaj*, *ča* and *što*, which in their respective territories function as the interrogative pronoun 'what'. In the east and south-east, there is a number of less easily defined dialects which mark a transition between Serbo-Croat on the one hand, and Bulgarian and Macedonian on the other.

The 'Kajkavian' dialect

The 'Kajkavian' dialect is spoken in western Croatia, chiefly north of the Kupa and the Sava, and south of the Drava; it is also found

south of the Kupa headstreams, to the west of Vrbovsko. Its eastern limit roughly follows a line from Jasenovac to Virovitica, and to the west the dialect merges into Slovene (see p. 208). The town of Zagreb lies within this dialect area. It is probable that the 'Kajkavian' dialect may have sprung from Slovene and, after the eleventh

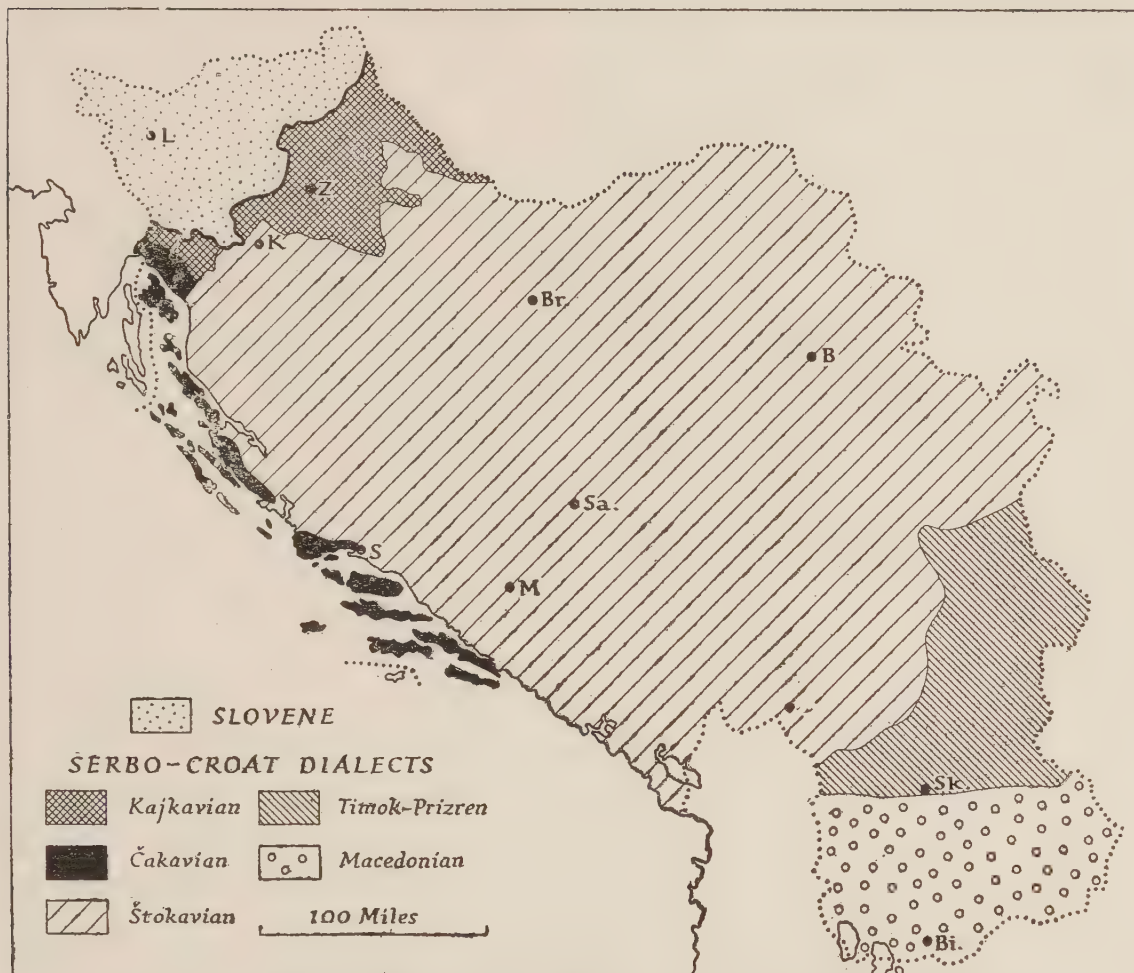


Fig. 50. The distribution of Slovene and Serbo-Croat dialects

Based on (i) A. Leskien, *Grammatik der Serbo-Kroatischen Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1914); (ii) A. Meillet and A. Vaillant, *Grammaire de Serbo-Croate* (Paris, 1924). Abbreviations: B. Belgrade; Bi. Bitolj; Br. Brod; K. Karlovac; L. Ljubljana; M. Mostar; S. Split; Sa. Sarajevo; Sk. Skoplje; Z. Zagreb.

century, when the area of modern 'Kajkavian' speech was joined to the Croat state, the Slovene dialect may have been 'Croatized' and assimilated into the Serbo-Croat group.*

The 'Čakavian' dialect

The 'Čakavian' dialect is spoken on the Dalmatian islands, from Krk to Lastovo. On the mainland coast, it is found in four districts:

* This is discussed by N. van Wijk, 'Les langues slaves du Sud', *Le Monde Slave*, vol. IV, pt. 4, pp. 95-6 (Paris, 1937).

(a) between Sušak and Senj; (b) around Zadar (Zara) and Biograd; (c) north and south of Split; and (d) on the Pelješac peninsula. There are variations within the dialect itself, based on the pronunciation of the original Slavonic *ě*: in some places this vowel has become an *i* sound (cf. the name of Biograd on the coast), in others it has remained unchanged, while a mixture of both sounds is heard in several localities.

The 'Štokavian' dialect

The 'Štokavian' dialect is the most widespread of the Serbo-Croat dialects and it has become the basis of the literary language in Yugoslavia (see p. 210). It falls into three sub-dialects, which are again based on the development of the original Slavonic *ě*. For example, the Serbo-Croat word for 'milk' is pronounced *mleko* in Belgrade, *mlijeko* in Sarajevo and *mliko* in Imotski. The distribution of the -e- (Ekavian), the -ije- (Jekavian) and the -i- (Ikavian) dialects is shown in Fig. 51.

The original *e* sound has been preserved in northern Serbia (the Šumadija and Šabac), and in Srem, in Bačka and in the Banat, as well as in the eastern parts of the old kingdom of Serbia. The -ije-, -je- variation is widespread throughout the central and western parts of the kingdom. The -i- type occurs in the west—in Dalmatia, in central and western Bosnia, and in Slavonia, but in many parts it forms a criss-cross pattern with the -ije- variation. An interesting feature of this phonetic development is that in those districts where the three religions exist side by side, Roman Catholic and Moslems are -i- speakers and the Orthodox are -ije- speakers. The -i- form, however, has disappeared from literary usage, but the other two forms are equally recognized. Under the influence of schools and the literary language, the -ije- pronunciation has extended over the whole of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia, and the -e- pronunciation over the whole of Serbia.

The eastern and south-eastern dialects

In the east, towards the Bulgarian frontier, Serbo-Croat speech enters into an indistinct and ill-defined transition zone, extending from the Timok to Prizren and separating 'pure' Serbo-Croat from 'pure' Bulgarian (Fig. 50). Niš, Pirot and Vranje are the chief centres of population in this area. There are many features characteristic of the early development of Serbo-Croat in the eastern dialect, and it has been suggested that a 'romanized' population lived in

this region for several generations, forming a buffer-state between Raška and Bulgaria (see p. 78). With the movement of population from this area towards the end of the twelfth century, the contact between Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian was renewed, but the dialect

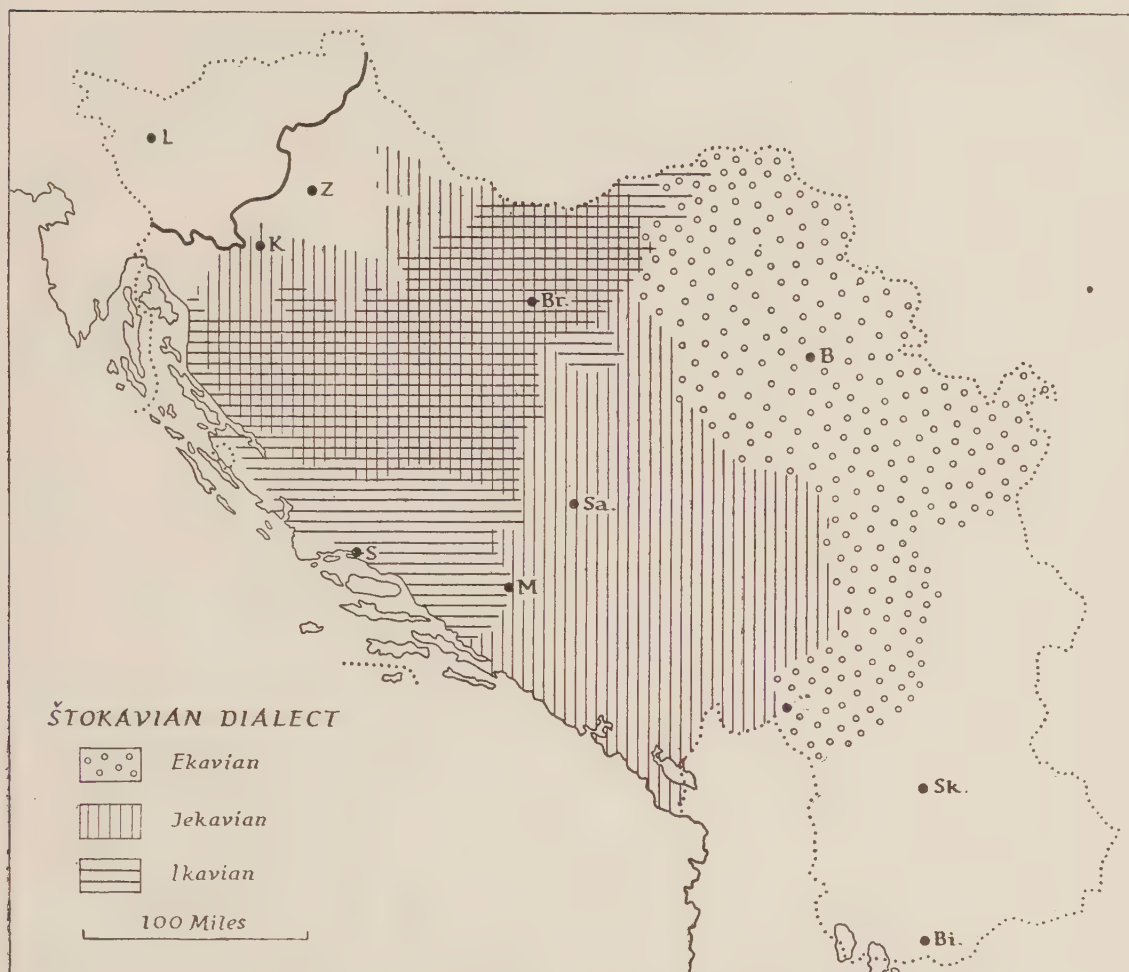


Fig. 51. The distribution of the Štokavian dialect

Based on (i) A. Leskien, *Grammatik der Serbo-Kroatischen Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1914); (ii) A. Meillet and A. Vaillant, *Grammaire de Serbo-Croat* (Paris, 1924). Abbreviations: See legend to Fig. 50.

of the area became a mixture of old Serbo-Croat ingredients and later Bulgarian accretions.

To the south-east, there is another transition zone, where Serbo-Croat dialects and Macedonian dialects are intermixed. In the ninth century, the language of Macedonia and Bulgaria formed a single linguistic unit (see p. 208) within the Slavonic group. When Stephen Dušan extended the limits of his kingdom far to the south in the fourteenth century (Fig. 22), the resultant Serb colonization left its mark strongly on the Macedo-Slav speech of the northern part of the conquered territory. To-day, the speech area extends south and

south-east of Tetovo, Kumanovo and Skoplje, and includes Ohrid, Bitolj, Štip, Veles, Debar and Prilep.

SLOVENE

Slovene is the westernmost representative of the South Slav group of languages; in 1921, there were 1,019,997 Slovene speakers in the kingdom and they now represent slightly more than 8% of the total population. The Yugoslav constitution recognizes Slovene as an official language.

Slovene differs from Serbo-Croat somewhat in the way that Danish differs from Norwegian, and speakers of Serbo-Croat and of Slovene do not understand each other with great ease unless they have a preliminary knowledge of each other's language. The differences of speech are wide enough for Slovene to be regarded as a kindred language rather than as a dialect of Serbo-Croat. The Slovene districts of Carniola and Carinthia were annexed by the Frankish-German emperors in the ninth century (see p. 6), and differences in speech between the Slovenes on the one hand and the Croats and Serbs on the other arose after this separation. An eleventh century manuscript from Slovenia, however, shows that these differences were not exceptionally marked at that time. Modern Slovene has two major dialects: the south-western dialect of Carniola and the north-eastern dialect of Carinthia. Slovene has had a literary language, written in the Latin alphabet and sometimes in Gothic script, since the fifteenth century, but apart from a brief flourishing in the sixteenth century, it has not been an exceptionally fruitful medium (see pp. 8 and 313).

STANDARDIZATION OF THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE

The earliest written records of the South Slav languages date from the beginning of the tenth century; they consist of translations of the Bible and of the liturgies. In the latter half of the ninth century, Cyril and Methodius (see p. 212) translated the Holy Scriptures and the Offices of the Church from Greek into one of the dialects spoken in south-east Macedonia at that period. A new alphabet was composed for the writing of these translations; an adaptation from the cursive form of the Greek alphabet was first used, and this is called the Glagolitic script (see p. 299); later, an alphabet based on Greek uncial characters and also believed to have been devised

by Cyril was employed—this system is known as the Cyrillic alphabet (see p. 299).

The language of these early translations is known as Old Church Slavonic, but the terms Old Slavonic and Old Bulgarian are now more usually applied to it. Modern Bulgarian has developed away from the spoken forms of this Macedonian dialect, and through contact with Turkish and Albanian it shows characteristics that are markedly different from those of its parent. In its written forms, on the other hand, the language of Cyril and Methodius became the official language of the Orthodox Church, and consequently of learning. Indeed, even after Croatia was joined to Hungary in the twelfth century, the special liturgy written in Old Church Slavonic, with Glagolitic characters, and sanctioned by the Council of Split (Spalato) in 1076, was retained and along the Adriatic coast it has remained in use until the present day (see p. 212). In each of the countries where it was employed by the Church—in Russia, in Serbia and in Bulgaria—Old Church Slavonic with its Glagolitic and Cyrillic characters became the medium for the writing both of religious works (often translations from Greek) and of learned works (generally, the lives of saints, bishops and kings). Official documents and charters, however, were written in a form which was a compromise between Old Church Slavonic and the language of the district. Between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, characteristics of the scribe's own spoken language began to appear in the manuscripts of religious and literary works, and Old Church Slavonic differed slightly in each country. The 'Serbian' Old Church Slavonic remained the literary medium throughout the Orthodox regions until the beginning of the nineteenth century, although it was strongly influenced by that of Russia. In the west, where the Latin script was used, the literary forms of the Dubrovnik (Ragusa) school of writers (see p. 311) had become a model during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But in general, throughout Croatia and Dalmatia, the language had gained in flexibility at the expense of standardization, for each author followed the inclination of his heart and was influenced by local usage.

During the eighteenth century, Dositej Obradović, born at Čakovo in the Banat in 1742, had made a pioneer effort to bring order and unity out of the chaos produced both by the differences of alphabet and by the inconsistencies of literary usage (see p. 103). When Obradović died in 1811, his mission was not fulfilled, but the task was resolutely faced by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, who was born at

Tršić, in western Serbia, in 1787. Vuk collected and published the folk-songs and ballads of the South Slavs; he also proceeded to correlate more closely the popular speech and literary usage. In 1814, he published from Vienna his *Pismenica Srbskoga jezika po govoru prostoga naroda*—a grammar of the Serbian language as it was spoken by the common people. His guiding principle for literary usage was 'write as you speak and read as it is written', and his own writing is characterized by clarity, simplicity and a flair for the correct idiom. To make this possible for others, Vuk reformed the Cyrillic alphabet. He found that Serbo-Croat has thirty distinct sounds. For six of these the Cyrillic alphabet of Old Church Slavonic had no signs, while it had eighteen letters which had no special significance for Serbo-Croat. Vuk repaired the deficiency by inventing five new signs and by borrowing one (j) from the Latin alphabet of Dubrovnik; the redundant eighteen letters of the Old Church Slavonic script he abandoned. Many loan words from Arabic, Persian and Turkish, witnesses to long Ottoman supremacy, were gradually eliminated and the vocabulary was 'slavonicized'.

Meanwhile, at Zagreb, Ljudevit Gaj, inspired by Vuk, was standardizing the Latin orthography of the west (see p. 24). Thus the two alphabets—Cyrillic and Latin—were brought to an exact correlation of purpose; they express the same language and the same pronunciation; the one can be converted into the other without any loss of phonetic accuracy. Vuk was faithfully assisted by Djuro Daničić; for example, the translation of the New Testament (*Novi Zavjet*) published by Vuk in 1847 was supplemented by Daničić's translation of the Old Testament, and their combined work, *Sveto pismo staroga i novoga zavjeta*, appeared in 1868, four years after Vuk's death. A standard literary language was thus created; it was based primarily on the *-ije-* variation of the 'Štokavian' dialect, but it had been adapted to supply the ever-increasing needs of a growing literary movement (see p. 314). As long ago as 1850, Serb authors and Croat authors signed an agreement accepting this regularized literary language, written either in Cyrillic or in Latin characters, as their medium of expression and there has not been any serious variation from the standard adopted then. It is true that dialectal nuances have found their way into the literary language, but that is a development which Vuk had foreseen when he allowed *mlijeko* and *mleko*, for example, to stand side by side. The local variations, however, are not serious and the unity of the literary language is unimpaired; it is the same in Belgrade as in Zagreb, in Sarajevo as

in Cetinje, although Turkish words still persist in the Sarajevo vocabulary and many German words have not disappeared from Croatian.

RELIGION

The religious history of the territories which now comprise the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is, until the fourteenth century, primarily the history of the development of Christianity among the Slovenes, the Croats and the Serbs. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the establishment of Turkish rule in the Balkans, the religious situation in those countries was modified by the appearance of a Moslem population, especially in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

BEFORE THE TURKISH CONQUEST

The invasion of the Balkans by the pagan Slavs in the sixth century brought about, in the hinterland, the rapid collapse of the foundations of the first Balkan Christian civilization which dated back to the days of St Paul. From the eighth century, the missionary work of the Church in the Balkans was started afresh and originated from Rome, Byzantium and Germany.

Slovenia

The Slovenes of Carinthia and Carniola began to be Christianized by the Bavarians in the eighth century. Charlemagne detached from the jurisdiction of the ancient patriarchate of Aquileia the Carinthian territory north of the Drava, and subjected Slovenia to the diocese of Salzburg, which remained for many centuries a strong weapon of germanization (see p. 6). Between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries, several new bishoprics were established, including one in Ljubljana (1461). From the thirteenth century, the Catholic Church in Slovenia gained fresh vigour owing to the activities of the Dominican and Franciscan friars.

Croatia

The Croats received Christianity from Rome, Byzantium and Germany. The Pannonian Croats, between the Sava and the Drava, were conquered by Charlemagne, and in the first half of the ninth century were, like the Slovenes, subjected to the germanizing policy

of the Bavarian missionaries. The foundation of a Slavonic Church laid by St Cyril and St Methodius in Moravia and Pannonia in the second half of the ninth century brought the Croats of Pannonia for a short time under the spiritual influence of Byzantium. But after the death of St Methodius in A.D. 885, the German party regained control in Pannonia and Moravia and the Pannonian Croats were again subjected to strong German influence.

The beginnings of Christianity among the Dalmatian Croats are ascribed to the emperor Heraclius (610–641), who had missionaries sent from Rome to baptize them. For two centuries the Dalmatian Croats were the object of a lively struggle between the patriarchates of Rome and Constantinople. But the success of Charlemagne's *Drang nach Osten* and the energetic policy of the Papacy decided the issue in favour of Rome. The Croatian prince Branimir (879–892) attached his country to the Roman jurisdiction, thus finally placing Croatia within the orbit of western European civilization. The union of Dalmatian and Pannonian Croatia within a single independent kingdom achieved by King Tomislav (900–928) and consolidated by Zvonimir (1076–1089) firmly attached Croatia to the obedience of the Pope and checked any further influence of Byzantine culture in Croatia (see p. 15). The council of Spalato (Split) in A.D. 925 proclaimed the archbishop of that city as metropolitan of the whole Adriatic coast and prohibited the use of the Slavonic liturgy which had penetrated into Croatia from Moravia in the days of Methodius. But after the election of King Koloman of Hungary to the throne of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia in 1102, the Croatian Church was attached to the ecclesiastical provinces of Hungary. During the reign of the Arpád dynasty (1102–1301) an important rôle was played by the bishopric of Zagreb (Agram) whose jurisdiction extended over the whole of Slavonia and which acted as a binding link between Slavonia and Hungary. The primate of Croatia held the office of Chancellor of State and the bishops were the principal advisers of the Croatian 'bans' who represented the monarchs in Croatia and encouraged the growth of the Church and particularly favoured the Benedictine monks.

Bosnia and Hercegovina

The religious situation in Bosnia and Hum (Hercegovina) had become very confused by the beginning of the thirteenth century. The bishopric of Bosnia had in turn been subjected to the Latin sees of Spalato (Split), Antivari, Ragusa (Dubrovnik), and, in 1191, again

to Spalato. About 1198, to ward off the danger of Hungary who, under the cloak of Roman Catholicism, was seeking for an opportunity to secure complete domination over Bosnia, the Bosnian Ban Kulin with his family and with more than 10,000 of his subjects joined the heretical sect of the Patarenes.

The Patarene movement was closely connected with the Neo-Manichaeian dualistic sect of the Bogomils which arose in Bulgaria in the tenth century (see p. 46). The Bogomils taught that the material world was created by the devil and that, to escape his domination, man must strive to avoid all contact with matter by leading a life of rigid asceticism. By its rejection of the Old Testament, of the Incarnation, of the sacraments and of the whole organization of the Christian Church, Bogomilism incurred the strong hostility of the ecclesiastical, and often of the secular authorities of the countries into which it penetrated. Although Kulin temporarily saved his country from the danger of a Crusade against Bosnia, prepared by the Pope and the king of Hungary, by solemnly abjuring the heresy, the continued strength of Patarenism in Bosnia was the cause of a bitter struggle against the Bosnian Patarenes waged by Hungary with the support of the Papacy; this struggle ended only with the Turkish conquest. By the end of the twelfth century Patarenism was solidly intrenched in Hum and had penetrated into Dalmatia.

The considerable growth of Patarenism in Bosnia in the reign of the Ban Matthew Ninoslav (1232-1250) provoked a Crusade against Bosnia, preached by Pope Gregory IX and carried out by the Hungarians. The Patarenes were hunted down and tortured during 1237-1239, but the persecution only served to strengthen the Patarene faith in Bosnia by giving it the character of a national movement which became known as the 'Bosnian Church' and offered a vigorous resistance to the spiritual claims of the Papacy and to the secular ambitions of the Hungarian crown. After the conquest of Bosnia and Hum by Hungary in 1254 (see p. 46) the Catholic Church gained a firm hold over these countries. Nevertheless, Stephen Tvrtko I (1353-1391) was obliged to show toleration towards the Patarenes for the sake of the unity of his country (see p. 49). But after his death the selfish policy of the Bosnian nobles, many of whom were Patarenes, and the inability of the weak successors of Tvrtko to resist the pressure put on them by the Franciscans to persecute the Patarenes facilitated the rapid collapse of Bosnia (1453) and Hum (1483) before the Turkish armies. Large numbers of the

Bosnian Patarenes, preferring Turkish rule to religious persecution under their own rulers, accepted Islam.

Serbia

The beginnings of Christianity among the Serbs are also ascribed to the emperor Heraclius and originated from Rome (see p. 78). The official conversion of the Serbs to Christianity took place in the reign of Mutimir, *župan* of the Serbian territory of Raška (c. 850–891) who placed his country under the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of Byzantium (see p. 79). In the tenth century, with the political domination of Bulgaria over Raška, the Slavonic translations of the liturgy and of the Scriptures, propagated in Macedonia by St Clement and St Naum, disciples of St Methodius, penetrated into Serbia and enabled Serbian Christianity to develop as a Slavonic cultural force. After the ecclesiastical policy of the Serbian rulers had, for two centuries, oscillated between Rome and Constantinople, Byzantine Christianity triumphed in Serbia in the late twelfth century in the reign of Stephen Nemanja, the real founder of the Serbian state (see p. 82). Nemanja, an Orthodox by upbringing and inclination, even though he had been baptized by a Latin priest, foresaw the advantages his country would derive from a national Slavonic Church—advantages which seemed incompatible with the centralizing policy of the Papacy—and secured the triumph of Eastern Orthodoxy in Serbia.

Stephen Nemanja abdicated in 1196, and, following the example of his younger son Rastko (St Sava), became a monk on Mount Athos. The foundation, about 1199, of the Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos by Nemanja and St Sava created a link between Byzantine and Serbian Christianity. As a result of the new political situation which arose in the Balkans after the conquest of Constantinople by the Latin Crusaders in 1204, Stephen the 'First-Crowned' was crowned by a papal legate in 1217. Subsequently, his brother Sava obtained in Nicaea from the Byzantine patriarch and emperor the status of autocephality for the Serbian Church. Sava, who is still venerated as the greatest Serbian saint, was consecrated the first archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Church in 1219, and until his death in 1236, he organized the dioceses and instructed the clergy of his Church. Under Stephen's successors, St Sava's work was ably continued; churches and monasteries were founded and endowed, and good relations with Rome continued spasmodically until the fourteenth century. In the reign of Stephen



Plate 5. Bishop Grgur of Nin

Grgur (Gregory), bishop of Nin in the tenth century, made great efforts to secure the recognition of the Glagolitic rite (the Catholic liturgy in Slavonic, see pp. 212, 311) at the Council of Split. This bronze statue by Meštrović is 26 ft. high and stands in the peristyle of Diocletian's palace at Split. The black granite Sphinx in the foreground formed part of the original decorations.



Plate 6. Prizren

Prizren, situated on the river Bistrica at the north-western edge of the Sar Planina, played an important part in the struggles between the Nemanjid state and the Bulgarian empire (see p. 84 and Fig. 22). Moslem influence is evident in the many houses with windowless ground floors and protruding upper storeys (Plate 11) and in the large number of mosques.

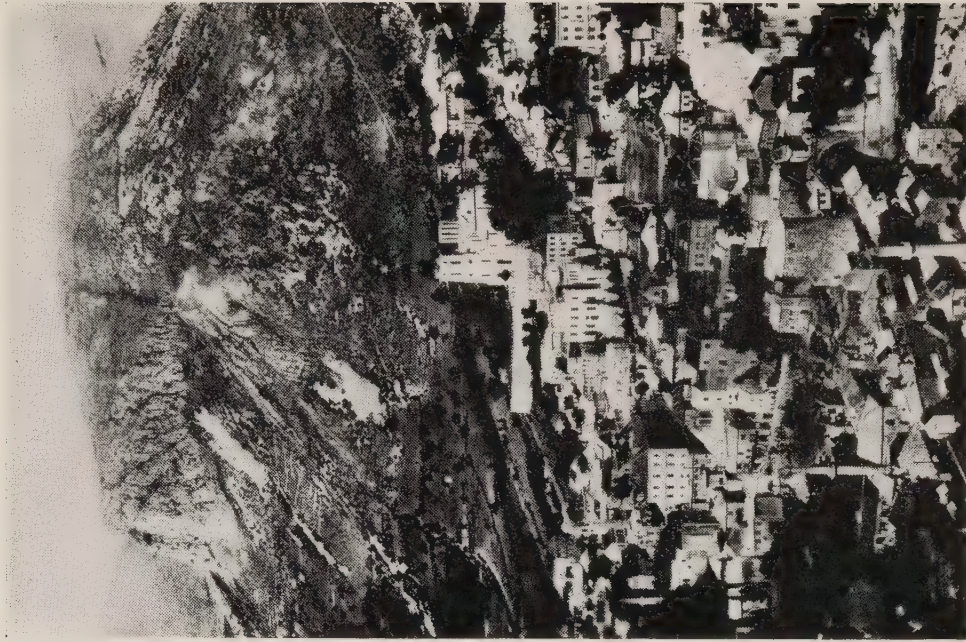


Plate 7. Mostar

Mostar, formerly the chief town of Hercegovina, stands in the narrow valley of the river Neretva. With its many minarets, Mostar has the appearance of a Moslem town, but it is also the seat of both a Roman Catholic and an Orthodox bishop. The bridge (*Most stari* means old bridge), seen in the foreground, was designed during the rule of Karadjoz beg in the fifteenth century and completed in 1566. The Orthodox cathedral lies at the foot of Podvelež mountain, which forms part of Velež Planina.

Dušan (see p. 86), the Serbian Church reached the zenith of its power. In 1346, the year after Dušan's assumption of the imperial title, the Serbian archbishop of Peć (Ipek) was raised to the rank of patriarch of Serbia (Fig. 25). But the rapid break up of Dušan's empire after his death and the defeat of the Serbs by the Turks at Kosovo in 1389 brought the actual independence of the Serbian medieval Church to an end.

FROM THE TURKISH CONQUEST TO 1918

The Orthodox Church

During the four and a half centuries of Turkish rule the Church alone played the part of spiritual and national leader of the Serbian people. Nominally still independent until 1459, the Serbian Church was at that date placed by the sultan under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Ohrid. But in 1557 the Grand Vizier, Mehmet Sokolović, a Serb who had accepted Islam, restored the autocephalous Serbian patriarchate of Peć (Ipek) (Fig. 25). In spite of the growth in the authority of the patriarchs of Peć, who became the real national leaders, and the toleration shown by the Turks towards the Christian religion, the period of Turkish domination was a melancholy one for the Serbian Church. Moreover, the relations between the Porte and the patriarchate of Peć became very strained after the emigration in 1691 of more than 30,000 Serbian families to southern Hungary under the leadership of the Patriarch Arsen III Crnojević. In 1766 the Sultan Mohammed III abolished the patriarchate of Peć and subjected the Serbian Church directly to the Greek Oecumenical patriarch of Constantinople. This initiated a period of religious oppression of the Serbs by the Greek Phanariot clergy, which ended only with Serbia's rise to political independence in the nineteenth century.

In 1830 Miloš Obrenović secured the administrative autonomy of the Serbian principality (see p. 104), and in 1832, by an agreement signed between the Oecumenical patriarch and the Serbian government, the Serbian Church regained its autonomy: the head of the Church, 'the metropolitan of all Serbia', was to be elected by the prince and the people, and the bishops were to be chosen by the prince and the metropolitan. In the nineteenth century, Serbia produced two outstanding church leaders, the metropolitans Petar (1833-1858) and Mihajlo (1859-1898), who did much to increase the inner strength and outward prestige of their church.

Following on the declaration of the independence of the Serbian state at the Congress of Berlin and in accordance with the customs prevalent in the Orthodox Church, the Oecumenical patriarch in 1879 recognized the autocephality of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The ecclesiastical authority became vested in a synod of bishops, presided over by the metropolitan of Belgrade. In 1914, the Serbian Church comprised the eight dioceses, of Belgrade, Žiča, Timok, Šabac, Niš, Veles-Debar, Raš-Prizren and Skoplje, although the three last were outside Serbia till 1913.

But until 1918 the autocephalous Church of Serbia comprised only about half of all the Orthodox Serbs. The others were divided among the jurisdictions of the four Churches of Montenegro, the Serb Church in Hungary, the Serb Church of Bosnia and Hercegovina and the Orthodox Church of Dalmatia.

The Church of Montenegro until the eighteenth century was closely linked with the Serbian Church. After 1459, like the Serbian Church it owed obedience to the archbishop of Ohrid, and, later, to the patriarch of Peć. At the head of the Montenegrin Church was the metropolitan of Zeta (a diocese founded by St Sava) who, after 1485, resided at Cetinje. Between 1516 and 1852 the metropolitans of Montenegro were also the secular rulers of the country, the hereditary dignity of prince-bishop being vested in the family of Petrović-Njegoš (see p. 60). From the time of Peter the Great, close relations were established between the Montenegrin and the Russian Churches, which resulted in the former gaining an independent status.

The autocephalous Serb Church of Hungary came into existence as the result of Serbian emigration to Hungary at the time of the Turkish invasion. In 1691 the Emperor Leopold I formally recognized the legal status of this Church and granted wide privileges to its head, the metropolitan of Karlovci, who in 1848 was raised to the rank of patriarch. The Church of Karlovci which, from the eighteenth century, came under strong Russian influences, was well organized and the spiritual and intellectual level of the clergy was considerably above the Balkan level. In 1914 it comprised seven Serb dioceses and more than a million faithful.

The Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Hercegovina during the period of Turkish occupation had to contend with the hostile forces of Islam, Roman Catholicism and the Phanariot clergy (see p. 97). In 1880, after the occupation of the two provinces by Austria-Hungary, a concordat was signed between the Austro-Hungarian

government and the Oecumenical patriarch, by which the Orthodox Church of Bosnia and Hercegovina was granted a large measure of independence.

The Orthodox Church in Dalmatia was strengthened numerically by the emigration of Serbs to Dalmatia after the battle of Kosovo. The position of the Orthodox greatly improved during the French administration of the 'Illyrian Provinces' and an Orthodox bishopric of Dalmatia was founded by Napoleon in 1808. The Orthodox of Austria were so few that in 1914 the two Serb bishoprics of Kotor (Cattaro) and Zadar (Zara) were under the jurisdiction of the distant Orthodox Roumanian metropolitan of Czernowitz in Bukovina (also in Austria).

The Roman Catholic Church

In Croatia, the struggle against the Turks began in the fifteenth century, and the Croats, by repeatedly repelling the invaders, earned from the Pope the title of *Antemurale Christianitatis*. The Reformation gained some partial success, chiefly by its appeal to the dissatisfied peasants and by its emphasis on the vernacular language. The leading Croat Reformist, George Zrinski, established a printing plant for the purposes of spreading his teachings. But Catholicism was firmly rooted in Croatia, and the *Sabor* of 1604 deprived non-Catholics of civil rights. Leopold I (1657-1705), however, provided for the liberty of the Orthodox to profess their faith by allowing them to enter the Military Frontier, which thus became the home of many thousands of Orthodox escaping from Ottoman rule (see p. 18). Later, the creation of a Uniate bishopric in 1777 only served to widen the gulf between the two confessions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, under the influence of Ljudevit Gaj (see pp. 24 and 314), extra-liturgical offices in the vernacular language were introduced and the Mass in Old Church Slavonic was preserved in the few places where it was authorized (see p. 209). The great work of Bishop Strossmayer of Djakovo (see p. 28) was successful in activizing Catholicism, in encouraging friendship with the Orthodox and in promoting the arts and sciences. At the beginning of the present century, Croatia formed an ecclesiastical province, created by a Bull of Pius IX in 1852, with the archiepiscopal see at Zagreb.

In Slovenia, the Reformation secured its first adherents among the clergy who had studied in Germany, then among the nobles, and finally among the masses of the people. As in Croatia, it gained

some ground mainly by its appeal to the peasants and by the encouragement it gave to the native language (see p. 8). The Counter-Reformation, however, triumphed over the Protestant cause. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Catholicism of the Slovene people was intense, and its power was increased by the leadership of the clergy in economic, social and national life.

In Bosnia, the vigorous reaction of the Catholic Church against the combined threat of Bogomilism and Islam was largely due to the Franciscans. In 1328 they obtained the right of inquisition (*officium inquisitionis*) and were able to continue their mission because the sultan, Mohammed II, gave them a charter of protection for their houses in Bosnia (see p. 51). Throughout the Turkish period, the Roman Catholics of Bosnia-Hercegovina were poverty-stricken, small in numbers and mainly confined to the Dinaric Alps. The diocese of Bosnia-Hercegovina was reorganized in 1735 as the vicariate-apostolic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and its administration was entrusted to the Franciscans. In 1881, Pope Leo XIII created the archdiocese of Sarajevo, with the suffragan dioceses of Banja Luka, Mostar-Duvno and Markana-Trebinje.

Islam

The Turkish invasion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries introduced an important Moslem population into the Yugoslav lands, especially in Bosnia and Hercegovina. The Yugoslav Moslems were mostly Orthodox and Patarene Slavs who had voluntarily accepted Islam (see p. 50), and although it was not propagated by force, the faith spread rapidly in these regions. Some of the conversions were either superficial or temporary, but the majority of the Bosnian Moslems were so zealous that they sometimes denounced the sultan as being himself an indifferent Moslem.

After the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1878, the Moslem population of these regions rose steadily, although between 1895 and 1910 there was some migration to other provinces of the Turkish empire. Up to 1918, the Hapsburg monarchy showed favour to the Moslems and they were still the dominant section of the native population in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They included the majority of the landlords and few of them were serfs. They looked with contempt upon their Croat and Serb 'fellow-Bosnians' and remained estranged from the movement of nationalism which was growing among the Southern Slavs. Their small intelligentsia, however, tended towards closer relations with

the Croats than with the Serbs, partly because of dialectal affinities (see p. 206) and partly because they had been educated either at Zagreb or at Vienna university.

BETWEEN THE TWO WARS, 1919-41

The Declaration of Corfu in 1917 (see p. 144) promised equality for the Orthodox, Catholic and Moslems religions. The Vidovdan constitution of 1921 proclaimed equality of state treatment for all recognized religions within the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Distribution

According to the census of 1931 the religious distribution in Yugoslavia (Fig. 147) was as follows:

	Number	Percentage
Orthodox	6,785,501	48·07
Roman Catholics	5,217,847	37·87
Uniate Catholics	44,671	
Old Catholics	7,273	0·05
Protestants: Lutheran	175,279	1·66
Protestants: Calvinist	55,890	
Moslems	1,561,169	11·20
Jews	68,405	0·49
Others	1,107	0·75
Total	13,917,137	100·00

Source: *Résultats définitifs du Recensement de la Population du 31 Mars 1931, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, vol. II (Beograd, 1938).

The Orthodox formed almost the entire population of the Morava *banovina* and a considerably majority in the Drina, Danube, Vardar, Vrbas and Zeta *banovine*, as well as in the prefecture of Belgrade. The Catholics constituted almost the whole population of the Drava *banovina* and were in great majority in the Sava and Littoral (Primorska) *banovine*. The Moslems were in the majority in the Sarajevo and Banja Luka regions of Bosnia, but they were so divided as not to be in majority in any *banovina*.

The Orthodox community, apart from the Serbs, included approximately 500,000 Macedo-Slavs, 250,000 Roumanians and Vlachs, 90,000 Bulgarians (on the eastern border), 20,000 Russian *émigrés* and a small number of Slovaks and Ruthenes (see pp. 249-50).

The Roman Catholics, besides the Croats and the Slovenes, included the majority of the 550,000 Germans, of the 500,000 Magyars and of the 115,000 Czechoslovaks as well as 12,000 Italians and a few Albanians. The Uniates were mainly Ruthenes and Slovaks.

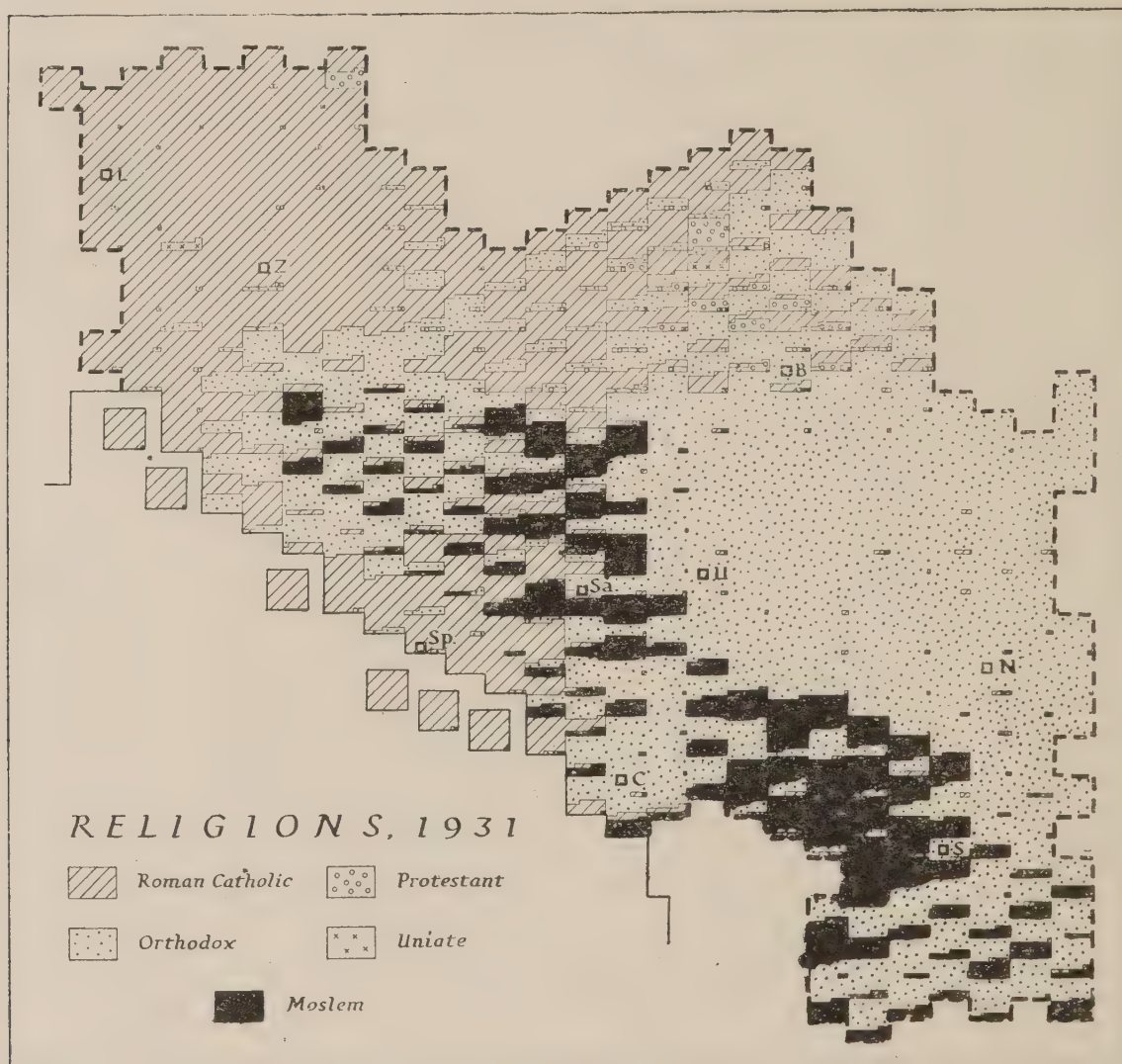


Fig. 52. The distribution of religions, 1931 (by *srezovi*)

Based on a cartogram in *Résultats définitifs du Recensement de la Population du 31 Mars 1931, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, vol. II, 'Population de fait par confession' (Beograd, 1938).

The original cartogram measures 18 × 19 in. The *srezovi* (districts) have been represented diagrammatically by uniform squares, each of which is divided proportionately into different colours, representing the constituent faiths.

Abbreviations: B. Belgrade; C. Cetinje; L. Ljubljana; N. Niš; S. Skoplje; Sa. Sarajevo; Sp. Split; U. Užice; Z. Zagreb.

The Lutherans were almost exclusively Germans or Slovaks, the Calvinists chiefly Magyars.

The Moslems of Yugoslavia can be divided into four groups: (a) the Moslems of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who are Jugoslavs; (b) the

Moslemized Serbs of the sanjak of Novi Pazar and its neighbourhood; these two groups formed rather more than half the entire Moslem population of Yugoslavia; (c) the Albanian Moslems of the Kosovo and Metohija regions of Montenegro and of western Macedonia (about 500,000); (d) the Turkish-speaking and other Moslems of Macedonia.

About two-thirds of the Jews were Central European Ashkenazim (Scythian), mostly Germanized or Magyarized and resident in the provinces which formerly belonged to Hungary. The rest were of Spanish, Sephardim, origin and lived in Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia.

The Orthodox Church

Early in May 1919, the Serb Orthodox Church was unified and reorganized to include the former Churches of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, the patriarchate of Karlovci (Carlowitz) and the Orthodox dioceses of Dalmatia. After these changes had been sanctioned by an agreement with the Oecumenical patriarchate, Dimitrije, archbishop of Belgrade and metropolitan of Serbia, was elected in 1920 the first patriarch of the reunited Serbian Church, with the title of 'Archbishop of Peć, Metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovci and Patriarch of Serbia'. Dimitrije was succeeded on his death in 1930 by Varnava, metropolitan of Skoplje. Varnava, who was a close friend of King Alexander, proved to be a strong leader and an able administrator; from 1935 until his death in 1937 he vigorously opposed the ratification of the Concordat with the Holy See. Early in 1938, after an interval, due to the ferment caused in the Church by the Concordat trouble, during which Bishop Dositije of Niš acted as guardian of the patriarchal throne, Gavriilo, metropolitan of Montenegro and of the Littoral (*Primorje*), a Montenegrin who had previously occupied the sees of Prizren and Peć, was elected patriarch.

The Serb Orthodox Church, organized by the law of 1919 and finally unified by the Statute of 1931, is autocephalous but maintains dogmatic and canonical union with the other Orthodox Churches. The legislative authority is the Episcopal Council, composed of the entire episcopate and presided over by the patriarch; the supreme executive power is vested in the Holy Synod of bishops, composed of four bishops under the presidency of the patriarch; the juridical power is exercised by the Great Ecclesiastical Court; and the supreme authority in temporal matters belongs to the Patriarchal Council, composed of clerical members and of 12 laymen nominated by the

crown. The election of bishops is made by the Episcopal Council and confirmed by royal decree. The patriarch is elected by a council which exists solely for that purpose and is composed of the most prominent members of the clergy and laity. The decision must be ratified by royal decree.

The patriarchate was divided into 27 dioceses which included the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church (until recently governed by Bishop Gorazd Pavlik), whose centre is in Prague; the Orthodox diocese of Subcarpathian Russia (the episcopal see is Mukačevo), the diocese of Zadar, the vicariate of Skadar (Scutari) and the Serb Church in the U.S.A. and in Canada. It has one monastic school (in Rakovica near Belgrade) and the six seminaries of Belgrade, Karlovci, Prizren, Sarajevo, Cetinje and Bitolj; higher theological education is given by the Orthodox faculty of the university of Belgrade. In 1935, the Serb patriarchate comprised 3,021 parishes and 3,825 churches and chapels, served by 2,855 clerics. There were 206 monasteries, of which 14 were convents, and approximately 450 monks and nuns.

The bishops are always chosen from among the monks, while the parochial clergy are mostly drawn from the peasantry and must be married before ordination.

For the financial loss incurred as the result of the agrarian reforms the Orthodox Church received compensation, on which agreement was finally reached in the winter of 1939-1940.

The Roman Catholic Church

Before 1939, the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia was divided into four archdioceses—those of Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo and Antivari (Bar) and 14 bishoprics. Moreover, five territories were under Apostolic administrators; those of Bačka (administered from Subotica) and the Banat (administered from Petrovgrad) were subject directly to the Holy See, and the three others were under the jurisdiction of the nearest bishop: these were the territories of western Dalmatia, under the bishop of Šibenik, of northern Slavonia, under the bishop of Djakovo, and of Prekomurje, under the bishop of Maribor. The assembly of all the archbishops and bishops met under the presidency of the archbishop of Zagreb, primate of Croatia. Relations between the Holy See and the bishops were assured through the intermediary of the Apostolic Nuncio, who resided in Belgrade and was represented by a delegate before the king and the government. There were two theological faculties, the one at Zagreb, the other at Ljubljana. In 1935 there were 2,977 Roman Catholic

parishes, 2,530 clerics, 2,564 churches, 3,015 chapels, 880 monks and 5,206 nuns. The Franciscan order was the most widespread and popular, and was organized in the three ecclesiastical provinces of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dalmatia and Zagreb.

Relations between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Yugoslavia suffered much in the early years of the new state from the distrust between the Serbs and the Church of Rome. At first, the Roman Catholic Church suffered from unequal treatment at the hands of the state. Much was done, however, to remedy this inequality under the personal rule of King Alexander, who was anxious to achieve a Concordat with the Holy See and thus to remove a most serious obstacle to Yugoslav national unity. But the negotiations for a Concordat, inaugurated in 1922, were only completed in 1937 and finally proved abortive owing to Serbian popular resistance. The difficulty of reaching an agreement was due above all to the differences, accentuated by centuries of separation and historical development, between the views on the organization of the Church and of its relation to the state held by the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. The supra-national character of the Catholic Church and the centralization of Christendom under the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome were very largely alien to the mentality of the Serb Church, which, in accordance with the theory and practice of the Orthodox Church, insisted on its right to the independent management of its internal affairs and on the national character of its Christianity. Thus the Catholics had some difficulty in appreciating the close solidarity of interest which existed between the Serb Church and the political aspirations of the Serbian statesmen and people, while the Orthodox Serbs viewed with grave misgivings what seemed to them the undue interference of a foreign power in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Yugoslav state. Questions of internal and foreign politics further accentuated this lack of mutual understanding. Serbo-Croat political rivalry, the distrust of Vatican policy felt by the Serbs, especially after the conclusion of the Lateran treaty and, on the other hand, hesitations on the part of the Vatican, probably reluctant to irritate the Italian government by any measure resulting in an increase of Yugoslavia's prestige and internal cohesion, postponed the signing of the Concordat until 1935.

The Concordat, signed by the Yugoslav government, with Stojadinović as Prime Minister and Mgr Korošec as Minister of the Interior, gave satisfaction to the Papacy on the following outstanding points: the Catholic Church was to have free control of the religious

education of its members and of Catholic cultural associations; children of mixed marriages celebrated in Catholic churches were to be brought up as Roman Catholics, just as children of Orthodox-celebrated marriages were required by law to be brought up as Orthodox; the Roman Catholic Church was to receive from the state economic and financial concessions proportionately not smaller than those enjoyed by the other recognized confessions, and was to receive compensation for the financial loss sustained as the result of the agrarian reform. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic bishops were to take an oath of loyalty to the state and all bishops, provincial superiors of religious orders and parish priests having cure of souls were to be Yugoslav subjects; loyalty to the nation and the state was to be inculcated by Roman Catholic religious teachers. The Holy See also promised to withdraw Catholic clergy from party politics, the state undertaking to arrange the same in regard to other confessions.

The signature of the Concordat provoked the violent reaction of the Orthodox Church and of the Serb political opposition, who considered that its ratification would give the Roman Catholic Church—with its international connexions—too much religious and political power in the country. In 1937 riots and demonstrations due to the agitation against the Concordat fomented by the Orthodox clergy, the students of Belgrade University and the political opposition, produced a state of acute crisis, further aggravated by the sudden death of Patriarch Varnava, who had staunchly opposed the Concordat. After the government had insisted on pushing the Concordat through the *Skupština*, in which it had a large automatic majority, the Orthodox Church excommunicated all ministers and members of parliament who voted or worked for the ratification. In the face of this opposition the government yielded, and at the beginning of 1938, it officially informed the Serb episcopate that the Concordat would not be ratified (see p. 179).

The Uniates

The Uniates or Catholics of the Oriental rite, are partly descendants of the Orthodox Serbs who emigrated to Croatia, Slavonia and the Vojvodina and were converted to Roman Catholicism in the eighteenth century, and partly Ruthenes, Ukrainians and Slovaks from Galicia and the Carpathians, established in Srem, Bačka and the Banat. There are 45 parishes, 41 churches, 40 chapels and 43 priests subordinate to the bishop of Križevci, who resides in Zagreb, and comes under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Zagreb.

The Moslems

After the formation of the new state in 1918, the Moslems of Yugoslavia found themselves legally grouped in the three distinct Moslem communities of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Serbia which were under the direct control of the Department of Religions, working in conjunction with the Chief Mufti of Belgrade. They all adhered to the same doctrine, and the teaching of the Koran was imparted in Arabic.

In 1930 the whole Moslem community was given legal status and placed under the sole authority of a religious head, the *Reis-ul-Ulema*, nominated by the crown and resident at Belgrade. Moslem law was applied to family matters and rights of succession and the Moslems had their own religious schools. Sarajevo remains to-day the only European centre where the traditional doctrine and culture of Islam are taught. In 1935 the Moslem community of Yugoslavia had 740 parishes and 2,251 mosques. The Moslems of Bosnia, who still remain the dominant confession in several parts of this region, were very well treated by the Yugoslav state, but resented the loss of their dominant position. Moreover, the economic position of the whole Moslem community was badly shaken as a result of the war of 1914-1918 and especially of the agrarian reform. Although in 1919-1921 their leaders succeeded in obtaining a considerable indemnity for their lost rights over the land (see p. 321), the financial compensation proved of little value to the poorer classes, and in a short time about 60% of the Moslem families became destitute. As a result of the economic impoverishment, a large proportion of the Yugoslav Moslems swelled the ranks of the urban proletariat.

Soon after 1918 most of the Bosnian Moslems grouped themselves round the 'Yugoslav Moslem Organization', headed by several Moslem intellectuals (see p. 339).

Other Confessions

(1) *Protestants*. In 1920 the Congress of Yugoslav Protestants at Novi Sad attempted to found a united Protestant Church of Yugoslavia. The attempt failed, however, owing to divisions between Lutherans and Calvinists. Between 1930 and 1933 the three following bodies came into existence:

- (a) *The German Evangelical Church*, with about 70 churches, 30 chapels, and 70 pastors.
- (b) *The Slovak Evangelical Church*, with 25 parishes, 23 pastors and 3 administrators for Srem, Bačka and the Banat.

(c) *The Reformed Church* (chiefly Magyar), with about 40 Hungarian, 12 German, 1 Croat and 1 Czechoslovak parishes, some 50 churches and nearly 30 pastors.

(2) *Jews*. The orthodox Jewish community received its legal status in 1929. It is headed by the Chief Rabbi (resident in Belgrade), who is selected by the Minister of Justice from a list of three names submitted by the association of Jewish local communities, and appointed by the crown. The community is divided into the five rabbinates of Serbia, Croatia and Slavonia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Dalmatia and the Vojvodina. In 1935 there were 109 parishes and 30 rabbis. The chief centre of the community is Sarajevo, where there is a theological college.

(3) *Old Catholics*. This minute body, which refuses to accept the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and permits divorce and married clergy, was recognized by the state in 1923 and is fully autonomous. In 1935 there were 52 parishes, 9 churches and 43 members of the clergy.

EDUCATION

GENERAL STANDARD

The first ten years of educational development in the new state of Yugoslavia was a period of trial and experiment. Up to 1918, each of the historical provinces which came to form part of the triune kingdom had its own system of education, and the process of unifying these diverse systems was bound to be a slow one, although 1,490 elementary schools were built between 1919 and 1930. It was not until 1929 that final legislation was laid down to establish a co-ordinated system for the whole state, and the laws and decrees promulgated in that year affected every branch of education from kindergarten schools to universities. In 1938, there were 10,638 educational institutions in the country providing instruction for 1,691,628 persons. Of these, 1,426,654 were in elementary schools; less than 56%, therefore, of the total elementary school-age population were receiving organized education. Illiteracy is consequently high, but the degree varies from region to region. In 1931, 4,408,471 (or 44·6%) of the population over ten years of age were illiterate; of these, 56·4% were females as compared with 32·27% males. The following table, based on the returns of the Census for 1931, shows

that illiteracy is lowest in the Slovene areas of the north-west, and highest in western Bosnia and South Serbia:

Banovina	Percentage of Illiteracy
Dravska	5.54
Drinska	62.11
Dunavska	28.87
Moravska	61.96
Primorska	57.46
Savska	27.67
Vardarska	70.86
Vrbaska	72.60
Zetska	66.04
Belgrade (prefecture)	10.87

Illiteracy by age groups was as follows:

Age Group	Percentage of Illiteracy
11-14	43.2
15-19	46.2
20-24	52.3
25-29	53.6
30-59	59.2
60 and over	72.9

PRIMARY EDUCATION

There are three groups of primary or elementary schools: (1) Kindergarten schools (*Zabavišta*), for children up to 4 years of age; (2) ordinary elementary and continuation schools (*Osnovne škole sa višim narodne*), each with four-year courses; (3) special schools for the deaf and dumb, blind and mentally deficient.

Elementary education is general, compulsory and, in state schools, free; it usually lasts for eight years with a school year of ten months. Kindergarten schools are usually found in the large towns and industrial centres. Children enter the elementary school at the age of seven, and those who intend to continue their education in secondary or technical schools are exempted from attendance at the continuation schools. Instruction is given in the official language of the state, but special provisions are laid down for the use of the mother tongue in some of the minority areas. Religious instruction is entrusted to ministers of the various religious bodies and the curriculum is arranged by agreement with the ecclesiastical authorities.

The building and maintenance of primary schools are charged to the expense of the communes; loans, free of interest, are advanced by the state to communes whose income is insufficient to meet building needs. The control of all elementary schools is in the hands of the Minister of Education, either directly or indirectly through communal directors, district inspectors and banovinal authorities. A joint committee of local and banovinal representatives is responsible for the supervision of buildings and school property.

Teachers in primary schools qualify at training colleges (*Učiteljske škole*), at the high schools of pedagogy (*Više pedagoške škole*) in Belgrade and Zagreb, or at the education departments attached to the university Faculties of Philosophy.

The following table shows the number of elementary schools, pupils and teachers in Yugoslavia in 1938:

Type of school	No. of schools	No. of pupils			No. of teachers		
		m.	f.	total	m.	f.	total
Kindergarten	434	15,664	16,892	32,556	—	532	532
Elementary and continuation	8,227	799,239	594,183	1,393,422	17,329	14,281	31,610
Special	8	436	240	676	64	105	169
Total	8,669	815,339	611,315	1,426,654	17,393	14,918	32,311

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1938, pp. 354-9 (Beograd, 1939).

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Secondary education usually continues for eight years, but an incomplete course of four years is often pursued. The school year consists of 3 three-month terms. The schools, many of which are mixed, fall into two groups: (a) the 'lycées' (*gimnazije*), providing classical and arts courses; (b) the *realke*, providing courses in science. Classical languages are not taught in the *realke*, but a combined *lycée-realka* system of schools has been devised in which Latin is taught from the fourth year onwards, and these 'mixed' schools have increased in numbers during recent years. The age of entry into secondary schools varies from 10-13 years and certificates are awarded at the end of the course. The cost of maintenance of these schools is borne either by the state or by independent bodies but no similar private schools can be established. In 1938, there were 197 secondary schools in the country, with 116,655 pupils and 5,403

teachers. Secondary school teachers are usually graduates of a Yugoslav or foreign university; within five years of entering upon their duties, they must pass a state examination in teaching.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Technical and vocational education is given in junior and senior schools.

Junior Schools

The junior 'civic' schools (*Gradjanske škole*) are intended to prepare pupils of both sexes for the senior schools, and courses are given in industrial methods, commerce and agriculture. Pupils proceed to these schools from the elementary schools and they must be under 14 years of age on entry. The courses extend for four years. The schools are administered and controlled by the Minister of Education and they have the same status as the lower forms of secondary schools. In 1938 there were 227 schools—196 belonging to the state, 10 to religious bodies and 21 to private bodies; the total number of pupils was 39,850 with 2,427 teachers.

Courses in domestic science and hygiene are provided for girls of 15 years and over, on the completion of their stay at an elementary school, in the *Domaćičke škole*. These schools are maintained both by the state and by private bodies; most of them are residential, but external courses are arranged; the session extends from February to November of each year. In some places a five months' course of practical instruction in domestic management is given under the auspices of the elementary schools. Teachers for the junior domestic science schools are trained at colleges which have the same status as ordinary training colleges (*Učiteljske škole*). In 1938, there were 26 permanent domestic science schools, and courses were also given in 88 temporary schools; a total of 2,820 persons attended for instruction.

In addition to these institutions, there were, in 1938, 387 continuation vocational schools (*Stručne produžne škole*) providing a variety of short day and evening courses in vocational subjects. A total of 44,697 persons was registered for attendance, and the staff numbered 3,461.

Short courses in agricultural management are arranged for members of co-operative societies. Men attend for three to five months and women for two to four months.

Senior Schools

The following are the most important of the secondary technical and vocational schools in Yugoslavia:

(a) *Commercial Schools*. Commercial instruction is given in academies and schools (*Trgovačke akademije i trgovačke škole*). They are maintained by the state, by independent bodies or by chambers of commerce. Courses in the schools extend for two years and those in the academies for four years. The syllabus is arranged by the Minister of Commerce and Industry in consultation with the national council for vocational education. Pupils of both sexes who have obtained the junior certificate in a secondary school and those who have spent four years in a junior technical school are admitted up to the age of 17 years. The qualifying diploma of an academy of commerce is equivalent to the senior certificate of a secondary school. In 1938, there were 33 schools and academies of commerce, with 6,435 pupils and 393 teachers. There were also 27 schools of commerce organized by the Commercial League of Youth (*Trgovačke škole trgovačkih omladina*). Ordinary courses in these schools are for four years, with a further advanced course of two years' duration. Classes are held in the evenings on working days and in the mornings of holidays. In 1938, 4,444 young persons attended these schools and the staff totalled 353.

(b) *Technical Schools*. In this category there were in 1938 (i) eight higher technical schools (*Srednje tehničke škole*) with 2,173 pupils (all male); (ii) ten trade schools (*Zanatske škole*) with 1,149 pupils (401 women)—nearly all the schools in (i) and (ii) were housed in the same buildings and employed the same teaching staff (341); (iii) twenty-five trade schools for boys (*Muške zanatske škole*), with 1,541 pupils and 211 instructors.

(3) *Handicraft schools*. These schools (*Ženske zanatske škole*) are designed to provide three year courses for girls, primarily in dress-making, dress designing and art work. In 1938, there were 257 schools, attended by 15,457 pupils and with 1,302 instructors. The latter undergo training for four years in colleges for the teaching of handicraft at Belgrade and Zagreb; 331 students attended at these two colleges in 1938.

(4) *Art and music schools*. In 1938, there were 22 schools in this group (*Umetničke škole*) with 3,307 pupils and 290 teachers.

(5) *Agricultural schools*. The state maintains three high schools of agriculture (*Državne srednje poljoprivredne škole*) at Bukovo,

Križevci and Valjevo with a combined staff of 48; a total of 488 persons followed courses at these schools in 1938. In addition, the *banovine* were responsible for the maintenance of 46 agricultural schools, with 1,976 pupils and 239 instructors.

(6) *Mercantile Marine Schools*. Yugoslavia has three schools for the training of mercantile marine officers (*Državne pomorsko-trgovačke akademije*) at Bakar, Dubrovnik and Kotor. The schools are under the control of the heads of the three *banovine*, as representatives of the Minister of Commerce and Industry. A total of 319 boys were undergoing instruction at the three centres in 1938; there were 37 officer-instructors.

(7) *Schools of Nursing* (see p. 354).

(8) *Railway Transport Schools*. The state school at Zagreb, which had 150 pupils and 28 instructors in 1938, gives courses in methods of railway communication and transport. There are also schools for railway mechanics at Maribor, Niš, Petrovgrad, Sarajevo, Smederevo and Zagreb; a total of 694 persons attended for instruction in 1938, and there were 128 instructors.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Universities

The universities of Belgrade (founded in 1863 and a university since 1905) and Zagreb (founded in 1669 and reconstituted in 1874) were the only two which existed before the creation of the kingdom of Yugoslavia; the university of Ljubljana, which had originally been founded in 1596, was suppressed under the Austrians, but was reconstituted in 1919. The Faculty of Law at Subotica and the Faculty of Philosophy at Skoplje, both established in 1920, are constituent bodies within the university of Belgrade. The table on page 232 shows the distribution of university students by faculty and school in 1938.

Academies and Learned Institutions

The Serbian Royal Academy of Science at Belgrade, founded in 1866, has four sections, dealing respectively with natural science, philosophy, social sciences and art. There are 34 members of the academy, with not more than 68 corresponding members and a varying number of honorary members. The Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts at Zagreb also was founded in 1866, under the influence of Bishop Strossmayer (see p. 28); its five sections deal

University, or 'College'	FACULTIES							SCHOOLS				Total
	Law	Philoso- phy, letters and sciences	Medicine	Engin- eering	Agric- ulture	Theology	Veter- inary Science	Econo- mics and Com- merce	Educa- tion	Music	Fine Arts	
Belgrade	3,325	1,000	813	1,082	574	320	212	253	146	38	23	7,786
Ljubljana	653	448	159	413	—	187	—	—	—	—	—	1,860
Zagreb	1,201	1,197	842	689	530	262	423	518	83	69	71	5,885
Skoplje	—	157	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	157
Subotica	519	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	519
Total	5,698	2,802	1,814	2,184	1,104	769	635	771	229	107	94	16,207

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1938, pp. 372-3 (Beograd, 1939).

with history-philology, philosophy, law, mathematics-natural science and art.

The state military school is at Belgrade and the naval college at Gruž.

Training Colleges and Seminaries

All training colleges for teachers (*Učiteljske škole*) are state institutions. They are all residential and provide courses of five years' duration. The usual age of entry is 17 years. In 1938, there were 3 training colleges for men, 7 for women and 22 co-educational; the total number of students was 3,199 and there were 484 lecturers.

Each of the four main religious bodies in the country has its own seminaries to prepare candidates for the Ministry. In 1938 there were altogether 32 seminaries with 2,796 candidates.

Museums

There are thirty museums in the country, mainly devoted to history and archaeology, and mostly administered by the state. The National Museum at Ljubljana and the State Archaeological Museum at Split, both founded in 1821, are the oldest in Yugoslavia.

Belgrade has five museums. Prince Paul's Museum, housed since 1935 in the royal palace, is the largest and richest; it combines the old National Museum, founded in 1842, with the museum of modern art. It contains a representative collection of paintings by modern French and English artists and exhibits by Yugoslav artists—Simić, Avramović, Jakšić, Djurković, Predić and others; among the sculpture there are forty-four works by Meštrović and several by Rosandić, Stojanović, Kršinić and others. The other museums are: King Peter's Museum, in the house where he died in 1921; the Military Museum, founded in 1878; the Ethnographic Museum, with a rich collection of national costumes, carpets, native embroideries and craftsmanship, together with two thousand records of national folk-songs.

The South Serb Museum at Skoplje, founded in 1924, has a historical and archaeological section which contains a gallery of some three hundred copies of medieval frescoes and about one hundred manuscripts, mainly ecclesiastical, among them the *Oktoikh*, printed in Serbia in 1494 (Plate 28).

Zagreb has five large museums: the Museum of History and Archaeology, the Ethnographic Museum, the National Zoology Museum, the Museum of Geology and Palaeontology, the Museum of Mineralogy and Petrology.

In Dubrovnik, there is an Institute of Fine Arts and Monuments. The State Museum at Cetinje contains the archives of Montenegro and the regional museum of Bosnia and Hercegovina is situated at Sarajevo. There are museums of national history at Kotor, Trogir, Šibenik, Knin, Hvar, Vršac, Bela Crkva and Veliki Bečkerek. At Sremski Karlovci, the former Serb patriarchal see, there is a valuable museum for the study of Serbia in the Middle Ages.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Considerable attention has been given in Yugoslavia to physical education. All branches of physical education in the country are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for Physical Education, created in 1932, and various state grants and subsidies are allocated each year for the encouragement and organization of physical training.

The *Sokol* ('Falcon') associations, founded in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade in the latter half of the nineteenth century, were united into a state federation, established by a law of December 1929. Since then the whole system of voluntary physical education in the country has been organized and controlled by the Federation of *Sokols*, with its headquarters at Belgrade. There are three main age groups of members: (i) six to twelve years (ii) twelve to eighteen years and (iii) eighteen to twenty-six years. Persons above the age of twenty-six years were also eligible for membership. In 1938, the *Sokol* federation had about 400,000 members, distributed among some 2,400 district associations.

A law of January 1934 decreed that physical education was compulsory for all children and adolescents; for school children, it was obligatory until the end of their stay at a secondary school, and for others, from their leaving an elementary school until their twentieth year. For persons not attending schools, holiday courses were arranged, mainly by the *Sokol* associations, collaborating with the Minister for Physical Education. Qualified P.T. instructors were responsible for courses in the schools.

NOTE ON THE PRESS

Article 12 of the constitution of 1931 stated that 'every citizen is free, within the limits of the law, to express his own opinion by word of mouth, or in writing, by picture or other means'. This

declaration of principle, however, did not relax the machinery of the censorship which had been set up by King Alexander in 1929. After the *Sporazum* of 1939 (see p. 183), the Croat press enjoyed slightly more freedom in comments on internal affairs and especially in criticism of earlier régimes.

The following table indicates the nature of daily and periodical publications in Yugoslavia during 1938:

Nature of Publication	In Serbo-Croat	In foreign languages	Total
Official	37	—	37
Political	181	39	220
Scientific	46	2	48
Religious	122	30	152
Medical	25	1	26
Cultural	131	20	151
Arts, music, theatre and radio	40	5	45
Agricultural	72	15	87
Travel	26	3	29
Co-operative	234	4	238
Others	171	19	190
Total	1,085	138	1,223

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1938, pp. 394-5 (Beograd, 1939).

Twenty-five daily newspapers in Serbo-Croat were published in the country, and there were eight in foreign languages. Of the Belgrade papers (all printed in Cyrillic script), *Politika*, founded in 1904 and with a circulation of 90,000, was the most important—indeed throughout the country; *Pravda*, founded in 1903, had a circulation of 43,000 and appeared in morning and evening editions; *Vreme*, founded in 1921, had a circulation of 35,000. The five leading Zagreb newspapers (printed in Latin script) were *Obzor* (founded in 1859 by Djuro Urbanić with the aid of Bishop Strossmayer); *Jutarnji List* (founded in 1911; circulation, 25,000; supported the Croat Peasant party); *Novosti* (founded in 1908 and controlled by the Croat *banovina* after 1939; circulation 18,000); *Hrvatski Dnevnik* (the organ of the Croat Peasant party, circulation 10,000); *Jugoslovenski Lloyd* (an economic daily, founded in 1923 and with a circulation of about 10,000). Four daily papers were published in Ljubljana—*Slovenec* (founded in 1873, the organ of the Slovene Popular party, with a circulation of 25,600 on weekdays and 46,000 on Sundays); *Jutro* (founded in 1910, circulation 15,000 on weekdays, 23,000 on

Sundays); *Slovenski Narod* (founded in 1868, circulation 10,000); and *Slovenski Dom* (an evening paper with a circulation of 11,000),

Of the weekly papers, *Nova Riječ* (founded in 1936, having appeared since 1919 as *Riječ*) had the largest circulation and the widest influence. Published at Zagreb, it was the organ of the Independent Democratic Party and dealt with political, social and cultural matters.

DISTRIBUTION OF MINORITIES

The census of 31 January 1921 provided information about the various linguistic minorities in Yugoslavia. Out of a total population of 11,984,911, some 2,053,405 people were returned as speaking neither Serbo-Croat nor Slovene. This two million was made up as follows:

Germans	505,790
Magyar	467,658
Albanians	439,637
Roumanians	231,068
Turks	150,322
Czechs and Slovaks	115,532
Ruthenes	25,615
Russians	20,568
Poles	14,764
Italians	12,553
Others	69,878
	<hr/>
	2,053,405
	<hr/>

The Macedo-Slavs of the south were included under the heading of 'Serbo-Croat', and they are discussed separately in their historical setting (see p. 117).

The census of 1931 did not give figures for linguistic differences, but the Croat Peasant Party published estimates for this year. Both censuses, however, provided figures for religious differences, and the Jews appeared as numbering 64,746 in 1921 and 68,405 in 1931.

In accordance with the main peace treaties after the war of 1914-18, certain countries agreed to special minority treaties which were to operate under the guarantee of the League of Nations. Thus by article 51 of the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (10 September 1919), 'The Serb-Croat-Slovene State accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the principal and Allied Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that state who differ from the majority

of the population in race, language or religion'. The Yugoslav Minority Treaty was accordingly signed on the same day.* Despite this agreement, many complaints were made by the minority population in the years that followed.

GERMANS (Fig. 53)

The German minority in Yugoslavia fell into four groups, and their numbers have been estimated as follows:

	Austrian and Hungarian Census, 1910	Jugoslav Census, 1921	Croat Peasant Party Estimates, 1931
Slovenia	about 100,000	39,631	c. 29,000
Croatia-Slavonia	134,078	122,836	c. 128,000
Bosnia	about 15,000	16,461	c. 15,000
Vojvodina	about 330,000	328,173	c. 314,000
Total	about 579,000	506,901*	c. 486,000†

* There were also about 5,000 in Belgrade, but hardly any in the rest of Yugoslavia.

† There were also about 11,000 in Belgrade and Serbia.

It is possible that this figure is an under-estimate.

Historical Background to 1918

Slovenia. The Germans in Slovenia consisted in 1910 of three distinct elements. First, the rural colony of about 13,000, which had been established in and around Kočevje (Gotschee) in Carniola about the year 1360. Secondly, the German inhabitants of Maribor and of the Drava valley to the west, numbering over 46,000. Thirdly, the remaining 40,000 consisted mainly of urban groups in Ljubljana, Celje, Ptuj and other towns, together with some scattered officials and professional men.

All these Germans were mainly of Bavarian-Austrian origin, and, in the early nineteenth century, they represented the dominant element in the social and political life of the area. After the introduction of Liberal institutions in Austria (1861), German influence in Carniola, except for that of a few big landlords, diminished until it had almost disappeared by 1914. In South Styria, on the other hand, the Germans, supported by their fellow-Germans of North Styria, continued to dominate economic and public life and to give a German character to the towns.

* The text is given in H. W. V. Temperley (ed.), *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, vol. v, pp. 446-54 (London, 1921).

Croatia-Slavonia. The origins of the Germans in Croatia-Slavonia were three-fold:

(i) Small industrial and commercial communities settled for many centuries in the towns, and supplemented by a professional element. They were specially numerous in Osijek, but were also settled in Zagreb, Zemun and other towns.

(ii) Germans placed along the Turkish borders (i.e. in the 'Military Frontier') during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see p. 18).

(iii) Peasant colonists who had immigrated in the eighteenth century especially to Srem (Syrmia) and eastern Slavonia; they constituted the outer fringe of the Germans settled in the Vojvodina.

Except in Osijek and Srem, these Germans had, by 1914, come to play little part in the life of the province. Being mostly Catholics, they were ecclesiastically undivided from the Croats and tended towards assimilation to the latter.

Bosnia. This small group consisted of some peasant communities, and the families of some of the officials settled here during the Austro-Hungarian administration after 1878.

The *Vojvodina.* This large group consisted mainly of peasants, living scattered all over Bačka, Baranja and the Banat, chiefly in villages of their own, but in 1910 having a strong position in Vršac, Pančevo, Novi Sad and other towns. They owed their origin to the great colonization carried out by the Hapsburg dynasty in the eighteenth century after the expulsion of the Turks from the Hungarian lands (see p. 72). They were drawn from many districts of central and southern Germany, but, as they largely came from south-western Germany, they all were often called 'Swabians'. By hard work and disciplined corporate life, they contributed largely to the transformation of the desert which the Turks had left behind into one of the richest agricultural districts of Europe, and they formed an industrious and respected element in the population. During the fifty years before 1918, a considerable proportion of them had become assimilated to Magyarism.

Conditions, 1918-41

Under the new Yugoslav régime after 1918, the German element was greatly reduced in importance and also to some extent in numbers. The chief complaints of the Germans were about the negligible number of German schools, about the exclusion of Germans from

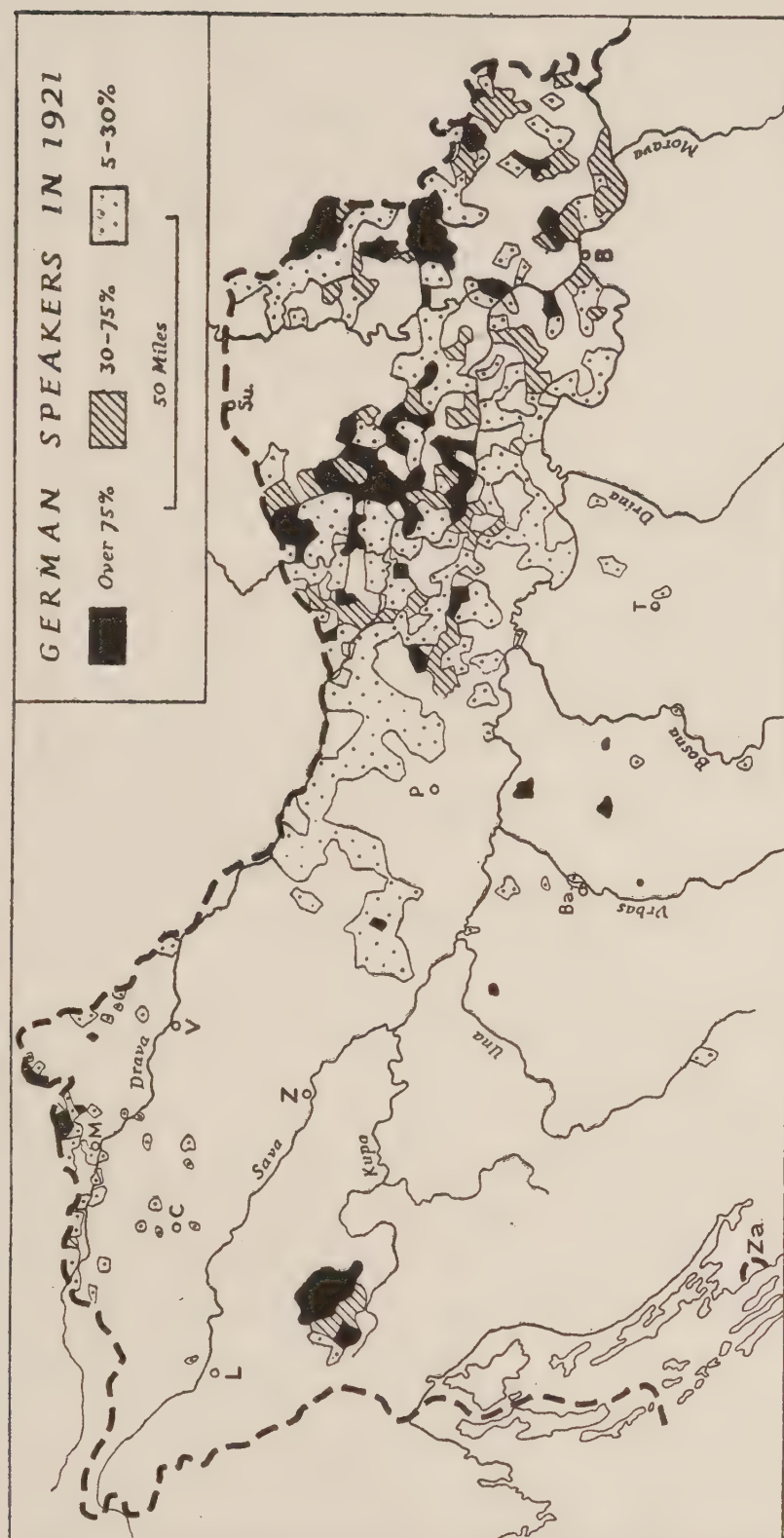


Fig. 53. The distribution of German speakers in 1921

Based on a folding map in *Résultats préliminaires du Recensement de la Population dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes du 31 janvier 1921, publié par la direction de la Statistique d'Etat, Belgrade* (Sarajevo, 1924).

Abbreviations: B. Belgrade; Ba. Banja Luka; C. Celje; L. Ljubljana; M. Maribor; P. Požega; Su. Subotica; T. Tuzla; V. Varaždin; Z. Zagreb; Za. Zadar (Zadar).

the public services both central and local, about the prohibition of a German political party, and about the ban on the use of the German language for official purposes. Complaints were particularly numerous from Slovenia where there were no German schools (primary or secondary) between 1918-40. In the years immediately following 1918, the 'Germanism' of the Germans of Yugoslavia was a sentiment of loyalty either to Austria or to the local community. But, with the rise of Nazism, much propaganda from Germany was diverted towards them, and many became permeated with German national sentiment for the first time.

Conditions, 1941-43

With the dismemberment of Yugoslavia in 1941 (see p. 373) there were changes. *Slovenia* was divided between Germany and Italy. In the northern area annexed to Germany, the local Germans became at once, and more than ever, the dominant people. The wholesale expulsion of the Slovene intelligentsia, employers and large-scale farmers, provided numerous openings in life for the Germans, who were reinforced by a considerable immigration from the *Reich*. The deportation of some Slovene peasants from north-western Slovenia, and of the whole Slovene population from the valley of the Sava along the new frontier, made room for the settlement of German peasants from Bessarabia and the Dobrudja and for the Germans (15,800 in number) of Italian-annexed Slovenia. Among the latter was the community of Kočevje (Gottschee), which had been there since the fourteenth century, and which was now re-settled around Brežice (Rann) close to the Croatian frontier.

In the '*Independent State of Croatia*' (Fig. 71), the Germans were authorized to form a *Volksgruppe* covering eastern Slavonia, Srem and the city of Zagreb. From the rest of the state, the German minority was removed—that is from Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia—except for four villages in north-west Bosnia. In Slavonia and Srem, the reinforced German minority claimed by 1943 to number 175,000. Here, the *Volksgruppe* was free to create political, economic and social organizations, and to maintain national and cultural relations with the Reich. It constituted in effect a state within a state, with its own schools, secondary and primary, and a training college for teachers.

In *Bačka* and *Baranja*, now re-annexed by Hungary, some 15,000-20,000 Germans are said to have emigrated to the Reich. The remainder joined the *Volksbund* organized by the German

minority in Hungary a few months earlier. Local German cultural institutions were now maintained and extended.

In 1941 the *Banat* was treated differently from other parts of Yugoslavia, and remained provisionally under German military control. The number of Germans in the area probably increased up to about 140,000. All of them formed a *Volksgruppe*, and various agrarian measures were carried out to the advantage of the German farmers. The German Protestants were provided with a bishop of their own. The aim seemed to be the creation of a small but wealthy German colony administrated by the *Volksdeutsche*, but what the future political status of the Banat was intended to be was not clear.

The small number of Germans in *Serbia*, about 15,000, was organized as part of the *Volksgruppe* of the Banat.

MAGYARS (Fig. 54)

Except for a small number in Belgrade and other towns, the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia is located in areas formerly belonging to Hungary. They fall into three main groups—those of the Vojvodina, of Prekomurje and Medjumurje, and of Croatia-Slavonia. Their numbers have been estimated as follows:

	Hungarian Census, 1910	Jugoslav Census, 1921	Croat Peasant Party Estimates, 1931
Banat	109,343	98,471	c. 95,000
Bačka	291,433	260,998	c. 275,000
Baranja	20,134	16,638	c. 15,500
Total	420,910	376,107	c. 385,500
Prekomurje	20,346	14,065	c. 15,000
Medjumurje	6,766	1,904	c. 1,500
Total	27,112	15,969	c. 16,500
Croatia-Slavonia	105,948	70,024	c. 80,000
Rest of Yugoslavia	c. 6,000	5,558	c. 10,000
Grand Total	c. 559,970	467,658	c. 492,000

Historical Background

The Vojvodina. After the expulsion of the Magyars from this area by the Turks, and its recovery for Hungary by the Imperial forces, Magyars were not encouraged to immigrate during the eighteenth

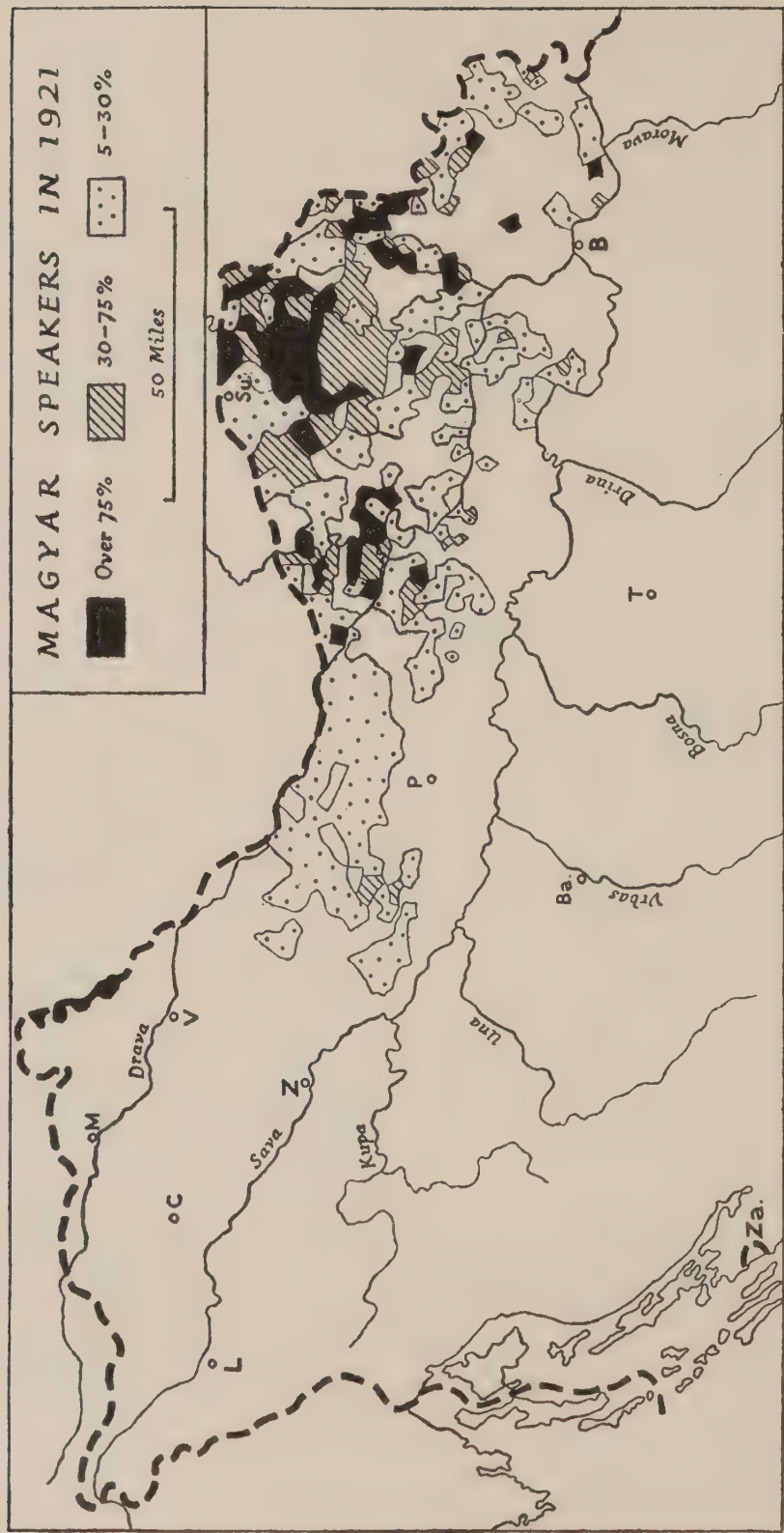


Fig. 54. The distribution of Magyar speakers in 1921
Based on a folding map in *Résultats préliminaires du Recensement de la Population dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes du 31 Janvier 1921*, publié par la direction de la Statistique d'Etat, Belgrade (Sarajevo, 1924).
Abbreviations : B. Belgrade; Ba. Banja Luka; C. Celje; L. Ljubljana; M. Maribor; P. Požega; Su. Subotica; T. Tuzla; V. Varaždin; Z. Zagreb; Za. Zadar (Zadar).

and nineteenth centuries. With the gradual transfer of the area (between 1778 and 1873) to the Hungarian government, the proportion of Magyars in the population rose, partly owing to immigration, partly to the assimilation to Magyarism of many Germans, Šokci and Bunjevci (see p. 70), and partly to the emigration of Serbs. By 1910, the Magyars formed about one-third of the mixed population of the area, and the largest single element in it (see p. 75). Apart from a small bourgeois class and a few landlords, the Magyars constituted the poorest of the ethnic elements in the Vojvodina. Many of them were dwarf-holders or landless labourers.

Prekomurje and Medjumurje. The former area formed part of Hungary proper for about a thousand years before 1918, and the Magyar population is settled in a group of villages near the 1920-41 frontier. Medjumurje also formed part of Hungary proper for about a thousand years before 1918 except for a brief period, 1849-68, when it was attached to Croatia-Slavonia. The majority of the Magyars here are settled near the principal town of Čakovac, at a considerable distance from the 1920-41 frontier.

Croatia-Slavonia. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, the number of Magyars was small; but there were a few aristocratic families of Croat origin who probably found it hard to say whether they were Croats or Magyars, and some business men (chiefly of Jewish origin) in the towns. The number increased towards the end of the century after the 'Military Frontier' had been abolished (1881). Many of the Serb frontiersmen emigrated to Serbia; there was much land available, and Magyars immigrated largely in an unorganized and spontaneous fashion. They settled chiefly in Srem and eastern Slavonia. In no large district were they in a majority, but in several areas they constituted about 10% of the population. Further, since by the *Nagoda* of 1868 communications were under Hungarian control, many employees on the Croatian railways were Magyars and were scattered thinly over the country. The total of 1910 was probably composed of about 85,000 peasants, some 15,000 railwaymen and their families, together with about 5,000 others.

Conditions since 1918

Under the Yugoslav régime after 1918, the Magyar element was greatly reduced in importance and also to some extent in numbers. The complaints of the Magyars were mainly about the absence of adequate educational facilities in Magyar; about Yugoslav agrarian reform which eliminated the Magyar landlords without benefiting

the Magyar peasants and labourers; about the ban on the use of Magyar for official purposes; about the non-employment of Magyars in the service of the state and of local authorities; and about the prohibition of a Magyar political party.

The dismemberment of Yugoslavia in 1941 restored Baranja and Bačka together with Prekomurje and Medjumurje to Hungary. There was at once an influx of Magyar state officials; and, in Baranja and Bačka, considerable numbers of Magyar colonists were settled on lands which had been assigned by the Yugoslav government to Serb colonists. Yugoslav officials and recent settlers were expelled. The Magyar minority in Croatia-Slavonia now formed part of the new 'Independent State of Croatia', and it appears that a number have migrated to Hungary.

ALBANIANS (Fig. 55)

General Description

Albanians inhabit a fringe of territory all along the frontier of Albania and Yugoslavia. To the north-east, they extend across the Metohija and Kosovo plains. Farther south, they form a considerable part of the population of western Macedonia. The Yugoslav linguistic census of 1921 gave the number of Albanians as 441,740. That figure did not claim to be anything more than an approximation; for in 1921 the Albanian districts were inadequately organized, and had never before been subject to a census. Moreover, the frontier had not been definitely decided. That 97% of these Albanians were then recorded as completely illiterate must have added to the difficulties of making an accurate record. The great majority were Moslems; a few were Catholics.

The Albanian districts were amongst the poorest and least productive in Yugoslavia, partly because of their mountainous nature, and partly because of the uneconomic traditions and illiteracy of the population. The Albanians were mostly engaged in agriculture and sheep-farming. They also supplied unskilled labour in Skoplje and other towns, where, too, they drove omnibuses and cabs, sold drinks and sweets, kept restaurants, and practised various crafts especially silver filigree-work. The Trepča mines provided employment for many.

Historical Background to 1918

The Albanians are generally held to be the descendants of the earliest known inhabitants of the central Balkan lands, who were

pushed south-westwards by the Slavs in the Dark Ages. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there was an exodus of Serbs from 'Old Serbia' into the Hapsburg lands north of the Danube (see p. 96); and the Albanians then moved northward and re-occupied the plains of Metohija and Kosovo—lands which had been Serb for a thousand years and which were associated with the most glorious traditions of Serb history. During the nineteenth century, the Albanian character of 'Old Serbia' was increased by further settlement, and a kind of 'debatable land' came into being, in which there were curiously indeterminate masses of 'Serbianized' Albanians and 'Albanianized' Serbs.

Most Albanians had accepted Islam, and they provided the Ottoman empire with reliable troops and many men of ability. They were treated as the favoured children of the sultan, despite their opposition to his periodic efforts at administrative reform. The Russian project, in 1878, of extending Serbia into the sanjak of Novi Pazar (by the Treaty of San Stefano) was answered by the formation of the Albanian League with the object of maintaining the sultan's nominal authority and of defending the Albanian way of life. The 'Young Turk' revolution of 1908, with its policy of 'Turkification', threatened the traditional immunities of the Albanians and their incipient nationalism. In 1909, the Albanians of Kosovo, Metohija and the mountains rose in rebellion against the threatened burdens of taxation, disarmament, conscription, and a census. The rising was suppressed by the Turkish army, but rebellion blazed up again in 1911 when the insurgents added positive demands for roads and schools. In August 1912, a horde of Albanian tribesmen captured Skoplje, and extorted a promise of Albanian autonomy. The anarchy in 'Old Serbia' and Macedonia during that summer provided the occasion for the attack of the 'Balkan League' on Turkey (see p. 131). Thus in the years immediately preceding the Balkan Wars, the northern Albanians had been provoked, by interference with their traditional way of life, into some consciousness of unity and into a desire for some of the benefits of civilized government, provided such government was largely under their own control.

With the First Balkan War of 1912-13, North Albania, together with much of Macedonia, passed into Serbian hands. The Great Powers, by the creation of an autonomous Albania, prevented the Serbians from annexing all northern Albania and so reaching the coast (see p. 114). But, even so, more than half a million Albanians were now included within the Serbian frontiers. After the war of 1914-18,

the frontiers remained undetermined until 1921, and various alternatives were eagerly canvassed. Ultimately, something approximating to the line originally sanctioned in 1913 was adopted, with some minor territorial modifications, and the half a million or so Albanians became members of the new Yugoslavia. All the details of the frontier, however, were not finally settled until 1926 (see p. 154).

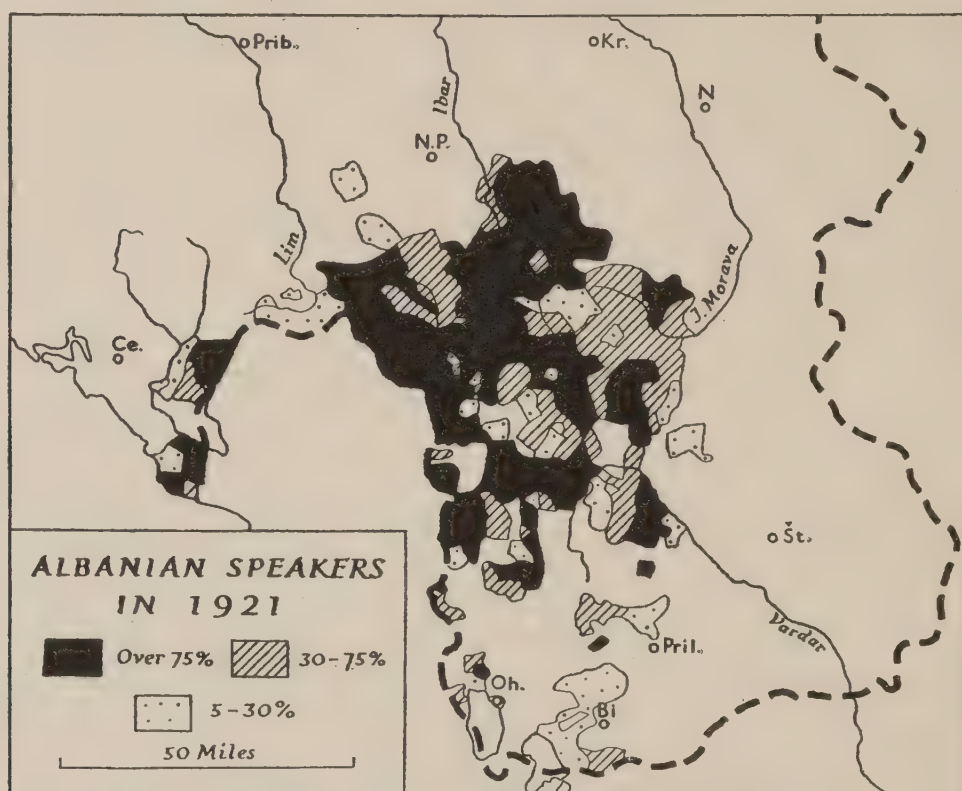


Fig. 55. The distribution of Albanian speakers in 1921

Based on a folding map in *Résultats préliminaires du Recensement de la Population dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes du 31 Janvier 1921*, publié par la direction de la Statistique d'Etat, Belgrade (Sarajevo, 1924).

Abbreviations: Bi. Bitolj; Ce. Cetinje; Kr. Kruševac; N. Niš; N.P. Novi Pazar; Oh. Ohrid; Prib. Priboj; Pril. Prilep; Št. Štip.

Conditions since 1918

After 1918, some Albanians emigrated to Turkey and a few to Albania; others took to brigandage. The Yugoslav government planted Serbian settlers in the plain of Kosovo and Montenegrin settlers in the plain of Metohija. By 1925, about 3,400 families (say 18,000 persons) had been settled in the land about Kosovo, but Albanian bands and the absence of sufficient marketing facilities had caused many of the colonists in the Metohija area to abandon the district. The Yugoslav gendarmerie, supported on occasion by the army, put down Albanian unrest. Up to 1931, ten petitions had reached the League of Nations, complaining of the treatment of the

Albanians, and asking, amongst other things, for education in Albanian, and for the appointment of Albanians to official positions. On the other hand, the development of public works especially at Skoplje and Tetovo and work on the railways to Ohrid and Peć produced increased employment and an improvement of material conditions in the backward area.

The political frontier established by the Axis Powers in 1941 included almost all these Albanians within Albania (Fig. 71).

ROUMANIANS (Fig. 56)

The Roumanians within Yugoslavia fell into three groups, and according to the census of 1921, they were divided as follows:

Western Banat	74,099
Timok area	147,518
Macedonia	9,451
Total	<hr/> 231,068 <hr/>

Western Banat. These Roumanians are the western fringe of the numerous Roumanians of the eastern Banat from whom they were separated by the Peace Settlement of 1919. They have lived amongst the other peoples of the Danubian plain ever since the Turks drove the Magyars from the Banat in the sixteenth century. When the whole Banat came once more under the Hungarian government in 1873 (see p. 74), their Orthodox religion and confessional schools served to maintain their distinctive nationality. In 1919 a special Commission of the Peace Conference divided the whole Banat on an ethnological basis and tried to balance the Serb and Roumanian minorities against each other (see p. 152). In no district of the western (or Yugoslav) Banat did the Roumanians form the largest national element except in that of Vršac. For the most part they were a rural population, with only small minorities in the towns (Figs. 16-18). A Roumanian-Yugoslav convention of 1933 gave these Roumanians various educational facilities.

Timok area. These Roumanians, between the Morava and Timok rivers, constitute one of the remnants of the former Roumanian or Vlach population of the Balkans. They have preserved their language and do not inter-marry with the Serbians. Most of them can speak Serbian, but they are largely illiterate, and have had no political or ecclesiastical organization of their own, nor any public education in their vernacular.

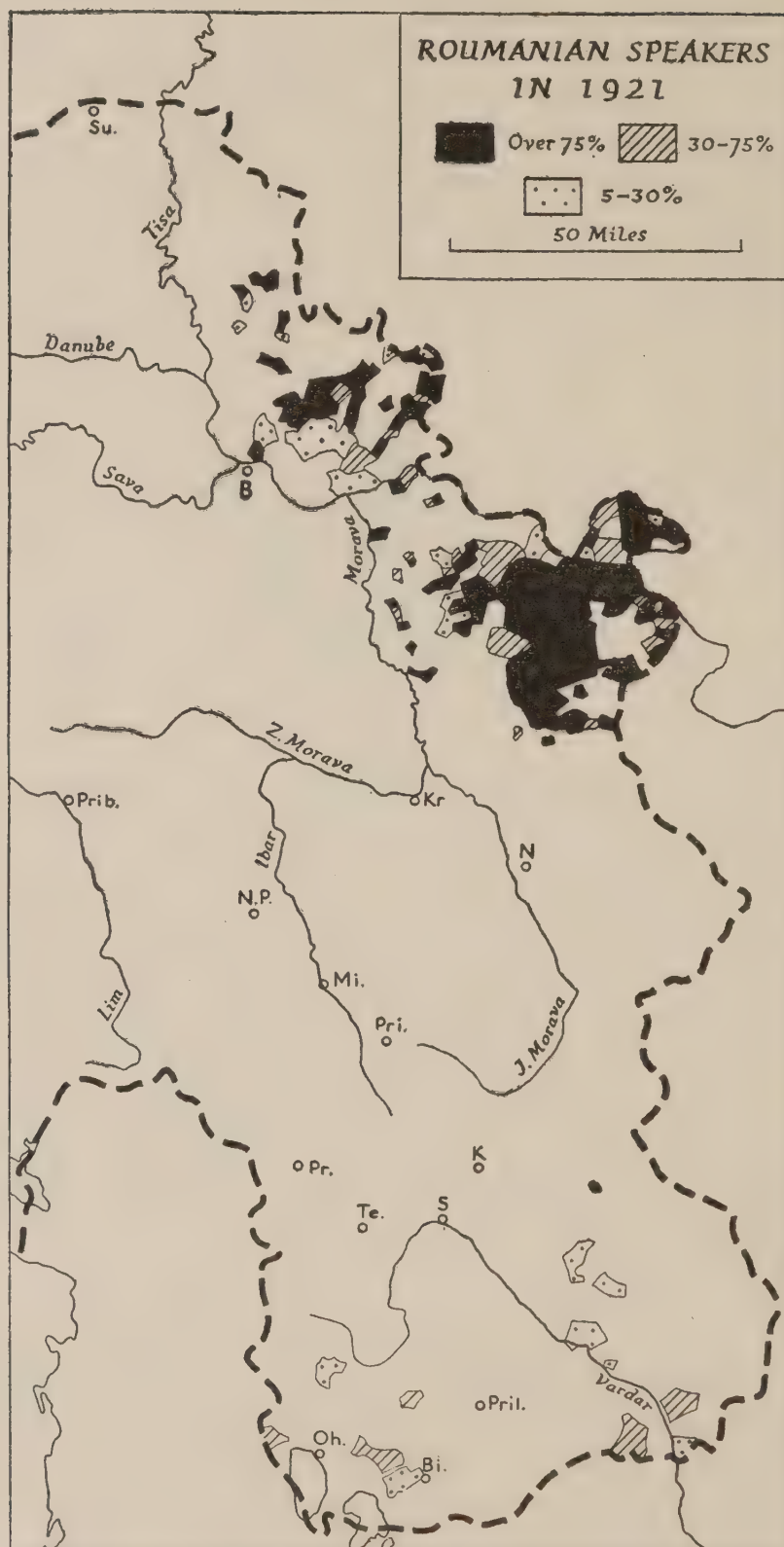


Fig. 56. The distribution of Roumanian speakers in 1921

Based on a folding map in *Résultats préliminaires du Recensement de la Population dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes du 31 Janvier 1921*, publié par la direction de la Statistique d'Etat, Belgrade (Sarajevo, 1924).

Abbreviations: B. Belgrade; Bi. Bitolj; K. Kumanovo; Kr. Kruševac; Mi. Mitrovica; N. Niš; N.P. Novi Pazar; Oh. Ohrid; Pr. Prizren; Pri. Priština; Prib. Priboj; Pril. Prilep; S. Skoplje; Su. Subotica; Te. Tetovo.

Macedonia. These Roumanians, known locally as Arumani, are likewise a remnant of the former Vlach population of the Balkans and are akin to those of Greece (see N.I.D. Handbook on *Greece*, vol. 1, p. 358). They were formerly largely nomads; but, during the nineteenth century, many were drawn to the urban centres of Macedonia where they prospered. In modern times, every considerable town from Bitolj in Macedonia northwards, had its element of Vlach merchants and craftsmen, their national identity increasingly diminishing till in Belgrade it meant nothing more than that of Scotsmen in London. In view of this assimilation and of the remoteness of the tribes that remained in the hills, it was difficult to assess their number. Some estimates have put this as high as 50,000.

TURKS (Fig. 57)

The Turks were recorded in the census of 1921 as numbering 150,322. Of these, more than two-thirds were in Macedonia; and most of the remainder in the adjacent areas of Kosovo and the Morava. More than a third of them were scattered in the districts east of the Vardar. Elsewhere most of them were town-dwellers. They formed a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Skoplje, Bitolj, Veles, Prizren, Priština and Ohrid.

After 1919 there was some emigration of Turks from Yugoslavia to Turkey, until in 1925 Turkey refused to admit any more. The remainder resigned themselves peacefully to a subordinate position that contrasted with the former Turkish domination of the land.

OTHER SLAVS (Fig. 58)

The Czechs, number slightly more than 40,000, were almost all peasants, long settled and mainly concentrated in western Slavonia and north-eastern Croatia, especially in the district of Daruvar. They formed a solid and prosperous element.

The Slovaks, who numbered about 70,000 in 1921, were spread over southern Bačka (c. 31,000), the southern Banat (c. 18,000) and Srem (c. 14,000). They consisted mainly of peasant communities, the descendants of Slovak labourers brought in the eighteenth century from North Hungary to work on estates created after the expulsion of the Turks. In northern Bačka the Slovaks, especially if Catholic, tended before 1919 to be assimilated to the surrounding Magyars; but farther south the continuance of Hapsburg military

government till the later nineteenth century and the numerical preponderance of their fellow-Slavs, the Serbs, enabled these Slovaks to preserve their national identity. Their strongest nucleus has been the community of Lutheran Slovaks centred on Petrovac, north-west of Novi Sad, which before 1914 returned the prominent Slovak

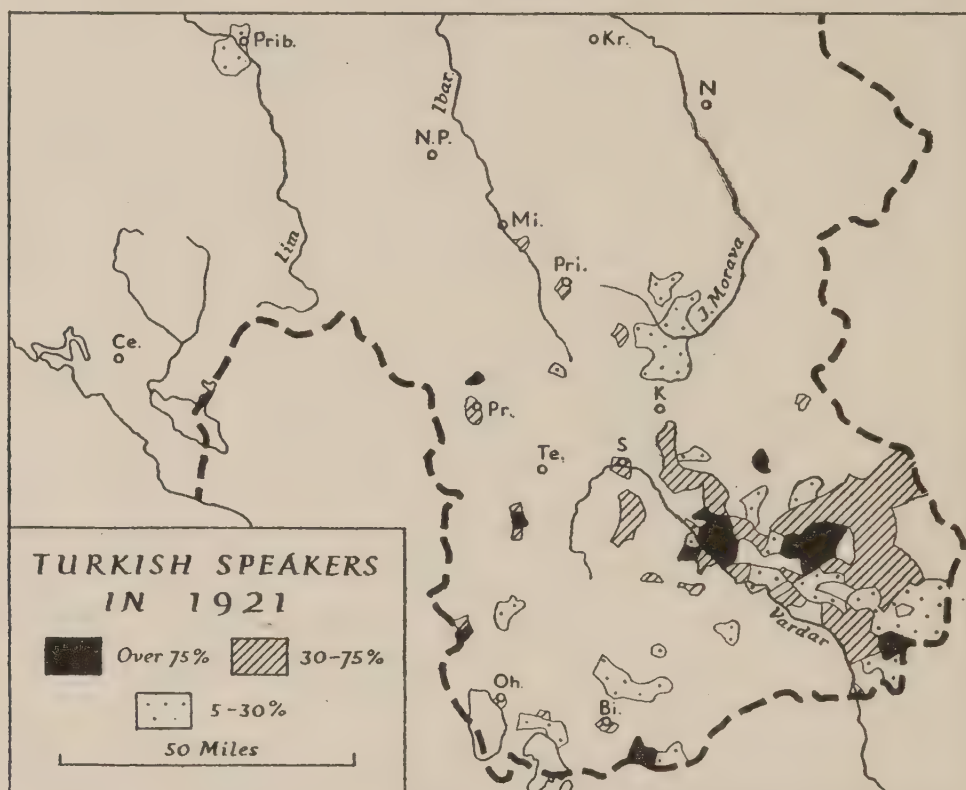


Fig. 57. The distribution of Turkish speakers in 1921

Based on a folding map in *Résultats préliminaires du Recensement de la Population dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes du 31 Janvier 1921, publié par la direction de la Statistique d'Etat, Belgrade* (Sarajevo, 1924).

Abbreviations : Bi. Bitolj; Ce. Cetinje; K. Kumanovo; Kr. Kruševac; Mi. Mitrovica; N. Niš; N.P. Novi Pazar; Oh. Ohrid; Pr. Prizren; Pri. Priština; Prib. Priboj; S. Skoplje; Te. Tetovo.

nationalist, Dr Hodža, afterwards prime minister of Czechoslovakia, to the parliament of Budapest.

The Ruthenes numbered 25,615 in the census of 1921. About 11,000 were settled in Bačka, especially in the central district of Kula. About 4,000 were settled in western Srem; and about 6,000 in northern Bosnia around Prnjavor.

The Poles were recorded in the census of 1921 as numbering 14,764. Most of them were settled in northern Bosnia, especially in the district of Prnjavor. The remainder were mostly across the Sava in south-central Slavonia. They were composed of peasant communities.

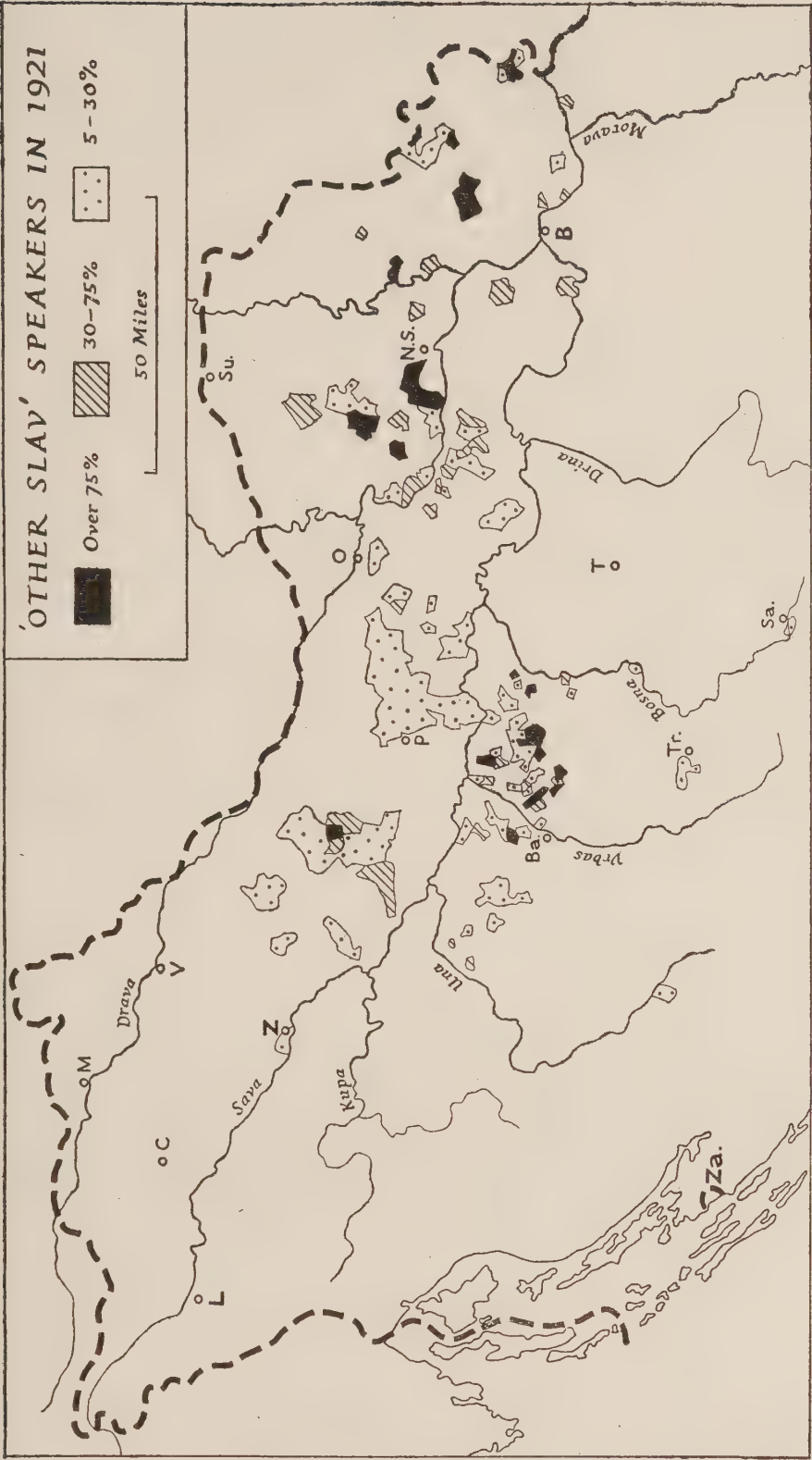


Fig. 58. The distribution of 'Other Slav' speakers in 1921

Based on a folding map in *Résultats préliminaires du Recensement de la Population dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes du 31 janvier 1921*, publié par la direction de la Statistique d'Etat, Belgrade (Sarajevo, 1924).

Abbreviations : B. Belgrade; Ba. Banja Luka; C. Celje; L. Ljubljana; M. Maribor; N.S. Novi Sad; O. Osijek; P. Požega; Sa. Sarajevo; Su. Subotica; T. Tuzla; Tr. Travnik; V. Varazdin; Z. Zagreb; Za. Zadar.

The Russians were given in the census of 1921 as 20,568, scattered through Serbia, Croatia-Slavonia, and Bosnia. Many of them were 'White' Russian refugees, whose number was further increased after the end of the civil wars in Russia. These 'White' Russians were specially to be found in Belgrade (where they numbered about 10,000 shortly before 1939), on the southern coast of Dalmatia, and in Macedonia.

ITALIANS

The number of the Italians of Yugoslavia was given by the census of 1921 as 12,553. Of these, 4,706 were in Dalmatia; 4,659 in Croatia-Slavonia (mostly in the northern districts, with some hundreds in the neighbourhood of Fiume); and 1,762 were settled in Bosnia. (As Dalmatia and other coastal districts were in Italian occupation when the census of 1921 was taken, the figures of the Austrian Census of 1910 were adopted for census purposes in respect of those districts.)

Those of the interior were mostly workmen and peasants, lost amidst the Slav population. Some of them, especially those in Bosnia, were withdrawn to Italy in 1940. But the Italians of Dalmatia and the island of Krk (Veglia) formed the most legally favoured national minority in Yugoslavia. This fact arose not from any partiality of the Yugoslav authorities towards Italians, but from the treaty obligations which Italy was in a position to impose upon Yugoslavia in return for her abandonment of the Italian claim on Dalmatia under the Treaty of London (1915). Owing to these treaty stipulations, it is convenient to consider the Italian minority in Dalmatia and Krk as consisting of (a) Yugoslav nationals of Italian speech—an element which quickly diminished towards vanishing point; (b) former Austrian subjects who opted for Italian nationality, but who remained in Dalmatia; (c) post-1920 immigrant Italian subjects.

The Italian minority was considerably augmented by immigration between 1941 and 1943.

JEWS

The census of 1931, recording ecclesiastical distributions in Yugoslavia, gave the Jews as 68,405—divided into Sephardim (26,268), Ashkenazim (39,010), and the small body of 'Orthodox' Jews, i.e. of the strict observance (3,227).

The relations of the Jewish community of Yugoslavia with the state were regularized by a law of the 14 December 1929, when the government undertook the support of 109 parishes served by 30 rabbis and other personnel. The government selected the Chief Rabbi from three names submitted by the representatives of the community. Provision was also made for a Jewish school of theology at Sarajevo, the chief centre of Hebraic culture. During 1941-44, the Jewish minority seems to have been 'liquidated' either by massacre or deportation, or flight to Italy, Hungary, Egypt or Turkey, except for the remnant in Partisan-held territory.

The Sephardim community, almost all of whom were resident in Bosnia, Macedonia or Serbia (roughly 8,000 in each area), were descended from Jews expelled from Spain in the fifteenth century. They were to be found in the larger towns, especially Sarajevo and Belgrade, Bitolj and Skoplje.

The Ashkenazim, or Central European Jews, except for about 2,000 in Belgrade, were nearly all resident north of the Sava-Danube line, and were mainly Magyar in speech. In the Vojvodina there were, according to the census of 1931, about 13,500 Ashkenazim and 3,000 'Orthodox' Jews; and in Croatia and Slavonia about 19,000 Ashkenazim. There were about 9,000 in Zagreb and substantial colonies in Osijek and in all the larger towns of Bačka.

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Chapter IV

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Social Structure: Country Life: Town Life: Food, Nutrition and Cooking: Clothing: Beliefs and Customs: Note on the Position of Women: Bibliographical Note

Social conditions in Yugoslavia are largely the outcome of her historical past. The results of the long-continued domination of the South Slavs by alien rulers were clearly two-fold: firstly, the destruction of all social classes, except that of the peasants, even the clergy formerly often being either illiterate or foreign; and secondly, the stagnation of cultural and economic life. The South Slavs, therefore, obtained their political independence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with a simple and undeveloped social structure, and in a stage of arrested economic and cultural development. In the present century, a rapid transition has been taking place from the medieval to the modern world and this must necessarily involve some very difficult adjustments. The devastation and loss of manpower during the Balkan Wars, in the war of 1914-18 and in the present war have imposed further heavy burdens on a country which is not very richly endowed by nature, and has lacked both the capital and the experience accumulated in the protected countries of western Europe.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Seventy-seven per cent of the population of Yugoslavia still consists of peasants, most of whom cultivate small-holdings. The table of occupations on page 256 shows the dominant part played by agriculture in the life of the country.

Town life is comparatively undeveloped, with only about 20% of the population living in urban centres of more than 10,000 inhabitants. Illiteracy is still fairly high, amounting to 32% at the time of the 1931 census, and reaching 56% among women in the same year. These figures, however, were rapidly diminishing owing to compulsory attendance at school.

Category	Gainfully employed	Dependants	Total
Agriculture	5,083,160	5,545,724	10,628,884
Fishing	5,399	9,021	14,420
Forestry	10,329	16,932	27,261
Mining and industry	717,002	816,050	1,533,052
Commerce and Finance	169,964	205,467	375,431
Communications	102,385	198,150	300,535
Public services, liberal professions, armed forces	305,770	262,066	567,836
Other professions	288,606	198,013	486,619
Total	6,682,615	7,251,423	13,934,038

Source: Census returns for 1931, published in *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1937, pp. 58-61 (Beograd, 1938).

Since almost all the prominent men of Yugoslavia are descended from peasants, such an origin is felt to be no social handicap. On the contrary, not only were the two great leaders of Serbian independence, Kara George and Miloš Obrenović, both uneducated peasants, though rich ones, but the peasants have been rightly noted for their virtues of honesty, courage, hospitality, courtesy and sturdy independence. Their peasant status by no means indicates that the people are incapable of other activities, yet it necessarily involves lack of experience in other walks of life, and this has been especially felt in relation to administrative and political activities (see p. 317).

One of the results of the peasant structure of the community is the absence of class distinctions. Hospitality may be offered and accepted by anyone, regardless of income; the possession or the lack of money makes no social barrier; and at least in the country districts, wealth is not a factor calling for any social respect. This is especially seen in the remoter parts of Yugoslavia where very poor peasants will give up their only bed to visitors, even though strangers, and will offer food and drink even to the point of having to deny themselves. Fortunately, comparatively few tourists have strayed from the beaten track, so that the traditional generous hospitality has not, so far, been abused.

To the casual onlooker, peasant life in Yugoslavia is extraordinarily picturesque. Though life in the big towns corresponds to the European norm, and peasant costumes and customs have been abandoned, yet the big towns are comparatively few, and even in Belgrade and Zagreb peasants can still be seen. Many peasant families continue to live in a medieval, almost a primitive fashion,

especially in the mountainous parts of the country south of the Sava-Danube line. They are almost self-supporting, not only growing their own food, but also wearing home-spun and hand-woven garments. The decorative national dress in its many forms gives the peasants on feast days and holidays a gala appearance. The rich variety of the costumes suggests that a vigorous peasant culture is holding its own, while the elaborate embroideries and the costliness of the costumes suggest economic ease and even affluence.

Unfortunately, this superficial appearance of prosperity and of the enjoyment of an Arcadian existence does not correspond with the facts. The whole country suffers from a one-sided development of its economic life, and this in turn leads to severe pressure of the agrarian population on the land. With a high birth-rate, the population has reached such a stage of density that not enough food can be produced on the arable land available, at any rate by existing methods. Yet taxes have to be paid and the peasants often have to sell food needed for their own sustenance in order to get money to pay these taxes. Moreover, they have to sell at prices prevailing in the world market. In common with peasants in other lands, those of Yugoslavia feel the handicap of the disparity in world prices between agricultural and manufactured goods. The great world slump of the late 1920's and early 1930's was very severely felt throughout the country; symptomatic were the lowering of salaries and wages, and the prohibition of the use of tractors so as to employ more human labour. Although the agricultural population represented 77% of the total, yet the national income derived from agriculture was no more than 47% in 1938.

The absorption of the surplus rural population by emigration or industry is not possible on a large scale, owing on the one hand to the closing of many frontiers to immigrants, and on the other to the absence of capital to develop the industrial resources of the country to a sufficient extent.

Great efforts were being made to improve conditions of peasant life, by means of the agrarian reform, co-operative societies, health services, schools, and by opening up the country with roads and railways. The impact of modern ideas and methods on this semi-medieval society often leads to the passing of much that proved valuable in the past life of the community, such as the communal family organization of the *zadruga*, and to the supersession of picturesque customs by more ordinary practices which are not necessarily an improvement.

COUNTRY LIFE

There are many aspects of country life which are broadly similar throughout Yugoslavia, but owing to the widely divergent development of the states and provinces into which Yugoslavia was formerly divided there are noteworthy local differences. For example, the westernized, well-educated peasants of Slovenia, with their well-developed co-operative system, differ from the old-fashioned illiterate peasants of South Serbia, who cling to medieval modes of life. These divergences are emphasized by contrasts of geographical environment. Even if Yugoslavia had always been united, there would still be inevitable differences between the peasants of the rich Danubian lowlands and those of the barren mountains of Hercegovina, Montenegro and the Dalmatian highlands generally.

The external aspects of life in the South Slav lands which were under alien rulers approximate to those of the former governing states. In Slovenia, for example, churches, villages, houses and food are broadly similar to those of Austria, while conditions in the Vojvodina and in the northern parts of Croatia are similar to those of Hungary. Along the Adriatic coast, outward appearances, especially in regard to buildings, are definitely Mediterranean. The regions nearest the Aegean have a strong Turkish imprint, but as Turkish culture was itself a mixture and was strongly influenced by Byzantium, it is often difficult to say what is really Turkish and what is a survival from Byzantine times.

THE FAMILY FARM

Throughout the country, peasant farmers cultivate their land with the aid of their families. In some regions, particularly in Serbia, it is still the custom for two or more branches of a family to live together and farm the land in *zadruga*, a kind of family co-operative group. Owing to the agrarian reforms which took place after the war of 1914-18, few holdings are large, even in the Vojvodina and Bosnia, where large holdings were formerly the rule. These reforms had been anticipated in Serbia by Miloš Obrenović, who distributed the land among the peasants in 1836, and passed a regulation to protect the homesteads and to prevent the dispossession of the peasantry. In the whole of Yugoslavia in 1931, 88% of the farms were less than 25 acres in extent, the majority being between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and

12 acres, though 17% were even smaller than $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. It is evident that most of the farms could be worked without hired labour, especially as it is the usual custom for women and children to help in the work on the land. Women engage in such tasks as planting, hoeing, reaping with sickles, gathering maize cobs and picking fruit, while in the backward regions they even plough. Women and children look after the livestock near the village; in this way every blade of grass can be utilized, though it is very uneconomical as regards time and labour, in spite of the fact that the women usually spin or knit while engaged in watching over their cows and geese. Most of the arable land is cultivated on the strip system with implements which become more primitive as one goes farther south. In the south, light wooden ploughs are used which are admirable for their purpose in mountainous districts, but very ineffective in the deeper soils of the valleys. Some peasants have not enough land for a plough and co-operate with a neighbour. At the northern end of the country, the employment of tractors was making headway, but their use was prohibited during the great slump of the early 30's. Ploughs are usually drawn by oxen, which are shod, though water-buffaloes are used in the Vardar lands, and horses to some extent in the Vojvodina and the other northern lowlands.

Grazing and forest rights

Most of the villages, especially in the mountainous districts, possess considerable areas of rough grazing, often on the mountain slopes at some distance from the settlement. Every villager has the right of pasturage on these common lands, to which the live-stock, chiefly sheep, are driven up in spring by the village herdsmen and boys who spend the summer with their flocks and make the sheep's milk into cheese, which is such an important article of diet south of the river Sava. In Slovenia, cows take the place of sheep. This common grazing is a very valuable addition to the resources of the peasants in the mountainous districts, where the arable land is very restricted, but the pastures are often over-grazed.

Many villages, especially in Bosnia and Slovenia, also own forests in which the villagers have cutting rights, though these have been restricted by the state. In some cases, especially in Slovenia, the forests are managed by local peasant co-operative societies on excellent lines. But in areas which have suffered greatly in the past through over-exploitation, as in Hercegovina and South Serbia, the peasants find the government ban on unrestricted cutting very

irksome, since wood-cutting was often their sole means of obtaining a cash commodity.

THE 'ZADRUGA'

One of the devices which enabled the South Slavs to survive their servitude without the aid of aristocratic leaders or gentry was the organization of large patriarchal communities known singly as *zadruga*. Such kinship groups, consisting of some fifty to a hundred or more persons, were practically self-contained and self-supporting, and gave economic strength as well as mutual protection. Down to the beginning of the present century, and even as late as 1914, large *zadruga* were common, but as conditions of security improved and western ideas of individual independence gained ground, the large *zadruga* broke up, though small ones consisting of father and sons and their families, or of two or three brothers and their families, are frequently found. The organization of life in the *zadruga* continues in the traditional manner though on a smaller scale.

The members of the *zadruga* own their property in common, live together in a group of buildings and take their meals at a common table. The affairs of the family group are arranged by the *domaćin*, who is usually the father or the oldest brother, though nowadays a younger brother may be elected if he has had more education and thereby is considered fitter to cope with modern conditions. The *domaćin* formerly sat in the village assembly and with the head man decided what his *zadruga* could pay in taxes.

The *domaćin's* word is law, but he must rule for the good of the *zadruga*. He arranges the work of all the members of the family, deciding who shall go ploughing or hoeing or to market. He also controls the work of the women outside the house, but his wife as *domaćica*, or head of the women, allots the household tasks in regard to household washing, spinning, weaving and embroidery. In the *zadruga*, each woman takes her turn at housekeeping for a week at a time, during which period she is sole manager. Her duties include baking bread, cooking the meals, and milking the cow or cows. She often receives the help of the children and young girls. In the old *zadruga*, several women were needed to prepare the meals for such a large household and there was more specialization.

The *zadruga* presents a form of family communism which many people look upon as typical of the Slav genius for co-operation. It is not a money-making concern; in fact, the young men and girls

often handle no money at all, but every member receives food and clothing though it may be only a bare sustenance. Any man who is not willing to give obedience to the *domaćin* must take his share and depart. Thus on the death of the father, the *zadruga* often splits into smaller ones, and the land, tools and other equipment are equally divided among the men of the family. Often every field is portioned out when the land is uneven in quality.

Up to the close of the last century, the Serbian government was anxious to maintain the large *zadruga*, but as this gradually appeared to be an impossible task, statesmen favoured the spread of co-operative enterprise to fill the gap. In any case, the *zadruga* never existed in Slovenia, nor had much of a hold outside the definitely Serbian lands. Family ties, however, are strong all over Yugoslavia, and it is regarded as the family duty of the prosperous to assist the advance of their relations.

THE VILLAGE

In the greater part of Yugoslavia, people live in villages of considerable size, so that the loneliness often associated with rural life is absent. This nucleation of settlement is a relatively new feature in South Slav life, and it dates no further back than the beginning of the nineteenth century, except in certain marginal areas, such as the Adriatic coast. Formerly, most of the people lived in dispersed settlements which in many areas corresponded to a *zadruga*. Scattered homesteads still persist in the forested parts of Bosnia, Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovenia.

Most of the villages of any size have an inn (*kavana*), where the men meet to talk and drink coffee or spirits (*rakija*). There is usually a small village shop, and in the more advanced parts of the country there may be a co-operative store instead or in addition. The stores sell salt, sugar, other groceries in limited quantities, paraffin oil for lamps, sometimes cotton yarn and cloth, together with woollen cloth and clothing in those parts of the country where the peasants no longer spin and weave. The range of goods is very limited, partly because the peasants grow or make so many of their own necessities, partly because they attend the market in the nearest town, and partly because they have little money.

The larger villages have a mayor's house or office, a school, which is often a new feature, and a church, though the latter is a small inconspicuous building in the lands most recently under Turkish rule.

Where the population lives in dispersed settlements it is very difficult to supply any of the appurtenances of civilization. It is particularly difficult for the children to go to school, as they have often a walk of five miles or more each way in all weathers; in winter, when deep snow is on the ground, this is obviously impossible. In remote districts, wolves and bears are not unknown. Children cannot be taken to school by motor-bus as many of the mountain villages have no roads connecting them to the main highways. The place of the shop is taken by itinerant pedlars.

In spite of the paucity of roads and the poor surfaces of those which exist, the peasants travel considerable distances. Many of them attend the weekly market at the nearest town, which may be anything up to fifteen miles away and even farther. They often travel all night, either on foot or on ponies and donkeys. The people are usually too poor to buy bicycles, even if the roads were good enough to use them, and it is significant that out of the 360,000 bicycles in the country in 1940, half of them were in Slovenia. Nor can they usually afford a place in the motor-bus or post-van (*pošta*) which daily bumps along the main roads between the chief towns. All peasants enjoy an outing, however, and they sometimes take so little to the market that the visit seems rather a social occasion.

The peasants also travel many miles to attend a *slava*, or festival held in honour of a patron saint. There are many of these, and each family, each village, town and monastery has a special saint. The more important slavas attract peasants for miles around, especially those held at the monasteries, even though these may be in very lonely parts of the country, far from other habitations.

At these festivals the peasants dance the *kolo*, which is performed by the dancers holding hands in a ring, sometimes singing songs at the same time. It appears to be a very old dance, which, under various names, is performed throughout south-east Europe. The *kolo* is also danced every Sunday afternoon in most villages as well as at festivals. The music is provided by pipes, bagpipes or drums, though sometimes by gypsy violins. Music is less dominated by the gypsies in Yugoslavia than in Hungary and Roumania. Bards recite the national epic poems to the accompaniment of the *gusle*, the traditional musical instrument, which looks like a one-stringed lute, but is played with a bow (see p. 303 and Plate 29).

Most of the villages have unpaved roads which are muddy in winter and dusty in summer, but in spite of this, the effect is not unpleasing in the regions where trees grow easily, as each house

usually stands in its own garden and orchard; the whole enclosure is surrounded by a low open palisade.

Few villages have a public supply of artificial lighting, except those situated round the big towns. Most villages have no piped water, and water is obtained from wells or streams (see p. 359). In the regions where surface water is scarce, as in the karst districts and in the limestone regions of South Serbia, this entails real hardship, and water may have to be carried for long distances, and often comes from contaminated sources. The lack of piped water inevitably implies primitive sanitary arrangements, but in many parts of South Serbia, Hercegovina, Montenegro and the karstlands not even the most primitive sanitary arrangements are found.

CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISE

Co-operative village enterprise is especially strong in Slovenia, and particularly in connexion with the timber industry. Elsewhere co-operative societies are mainly concerned with selling to the peasants at reasonable prices those commodities which they cannot produce for themselves, such as salt, paraffin, coffee, cotton and agricultural machinery. There are also co-operatives for lending money to the peasant at a reasonable rate of interest, collective marketing, and some co-operative enterprises in farming, especially to keep down foot-and-mouth disease, and in the orchard districts to control pests. Co-operative enterprises flourish best in the most advanced regions, such as Slovenia, and in the Sava, Drava and Danube lowlands. On the other hand, they have hardly penetrated to the Dinaric and South Serbian mountainous regions which need them most, owing to a number of difficulties, such as the inadequacy of communications and the low standard of literacy.

In 1938, there were 9,551 registered agricultural co-operatives in Jugoslavia, but over a thousand of these were inactive. They were far outnumbered by the 150,000 private merchants and shopkeepers, the ratio being 1 : 16. The number of members was 1,233,637, averaging 63 co-operatives to every 100 peasant households, though in Slovenia there were 257,000 members to 118,000 peasant households. The agricultural co-operatives, grouped into 35 federations, comprised 4,909 credit co-operative societies, 1,960 supply and consumers' co-operatives, and 2,677 producers' co-operatives. The 35 federations supplied their members with only about $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of their total purchases of manufactured goods, and with about 3 % of their

purchases of agricultural produce. Co-operative credit, as compared with credit obtained through ordinary banks, was in the relation of 3 : 1 in Serbia, 3 : 2 in Croatia and 1 : 3·5 in Slovenia. Two-thirds of the so-called producers' co-operatives were in fact co-operatives for the selling of agricultural produce, and one-third only for co-operative production.

On the whole, the local co-operatives were better run than their federal centres, which were apt to get into the hands of people who indulged in speculative dealing, or of others who gained experience at the expense of the co-operatives, afterwards setting up a private business of their own. Enlightened public opinion in Yugoslavia, however, sees considerable scope for the enlargement of the co-operative movement.

HOUSES AND HOUSING

House types are more varied in Yugoslavia than in most of the adjacent countries, owing to the diversity of cultural and geographic environment, and to the changes in styles of building which have taken place during the past hundred years. Thus, although most peasant houses are of one storey only, there are numerous houses of two or more storeys in the regions influenced by Alpine and Mediterranean styles. Moreover, although there are three main types of building material—stone, wood and adobe (sun-dried bricks)—yet there has been a great diminution in the use of timber and a great increase in the use of bricks. In many regions, also, tiles are increasingly taking the place of thatch and shingles.

Broadly speaking, four main regions may be recognized within which the houses belong to the same general type.

I. *The north-eastern treeless region*

These houses are similar to those found in other parts of the central Danubian plain. They are one-storeyed and usually built of sun-dried bricks, less frequently of kiln-dried bricks. The sun-dried bricks are hand-made, often by gypsies, of mud usually mixed with chopped straw. To render the walls of the houses weather-proof, they are plastered with a mixture of mud and cow-dung, and then white-washed or colour-washed. The older houses are thatched, but tiles are becoming increasingly popular. These houses of the Vojvodina often turn their gable-ends to the road and have a veranda running along the side facing the garden or courtyard, which is

screened from the road by a wall or fence; others have a smaller, porch-like veranda. This type has undoubtedly influenced modern peasant houses in Slavonia and in the northern parts of Serbia and Bosnia.

II. *The central forested region*

As one goes southward into Bosnia and northern Serbia from the Sava and the Danube, it is noticeable that brick houses with tiled roofs are succeeded by houses made partly of adobe and partly of wood, until in the higher valleys all houses are made of wood even to the roofs and door-bolts. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is believed that timber was used for all the one-storeyed houses throughout the forested regions of Bosnia and northern Serbia, but it was progressively abandoned as the lower lands were cleared for farming.

Bosnian types. This type of house is made of logs and has a steep high-pitched wooden roof composed of rows of short planks, the number of rows varying from six to ten (Fig. 59). It is also widely found outside Yugoslavia, particularly in the Carpathian lands, and it appears to date back to prehistoric times. The steep pitch of the roof is said to be a response to the heavy snows of winter. Both the inner and outer walls are now often plastered, but in some cases the interstices between the logs are merely filled up with straw. The oldest and most primitive houses consist of one room only, but the majority are divided into three parts: (*a*) a kitchen-living room called *kuća*, a word which also means 'house'; (*b*) a room for the head of the *zadruga* and his family; and (*c*) another room which is used for various purposes, such as a guest-room or store-room and may contain the loom. These houses are heated by wood fires on open hearths which also serve for cooking. There is no chimney, but a few of the roof-boards are lifted to form louvres, thus allowing the smoke to escape; as the fuel is wood the result is less unpleasant than if coal were used. Nowadays, iron heating-stoves have penetrated to almost every corner of Yugoslavia, but the old open hearth is still used for cooking. The old type of house can still be seen in the north serving as an outbuilding, often used as sleeping quarters for one of the younger married members of the *zadruga* and his family, or even as a store-room.

Round the scattered farms of Bosnia, outbuildings are very numerous. They may comprise a stable, byre, dairy, cart-shed, a barn for threshed grain, perhaps a store for barrels of plums, and one or two

sleeping sheds if the family still lives in *zadruga*. These are always made of wood in the hilly and mountainous regions, though they are usually built of planks rather than logs. The wicker-work structure often seen in the farmyards of the maize-growing districts is used for storing unhusked maize.



Fig. 59. Wooden house of Bosnian type

Based on J. Cvijić, *The Peopling of the Serbian Lands*, Book 2, p. 38 (Belgrade, 1903).

The walls of rough-hewn logs, the steep roof composed of rows of short planks, and the small windows are typical. This house formed part of the *zadruga* buildings of Miloš Obrenović, near Takovo in north Serbia; it was used as a *vajat* or sleeping quarters. Wooden houses of this type are no longer erected in north Serbia, but they are still common in Bosnia (Plate 9).

Morava and Šumadija types. These are distinguished from the Bosnian type by having chimneys, by the smaller amount of wood employed, and by being square in plan. The framework of the house is made of wood, but the outer walls may be filled in with adobe or planks. The chimneys of the older houses are peculiar in being made of wood, and in having a round cover, like a large candle extinguisher, fixed above the chimney opening. Roofs may be thatched, or covered with rows of planks, or tiled. There are either two or three rooms, the *kuća* or kitchen-living-room, a bedroom-living-room and a third room, which, however, is sometimes left

with two sides open to serve as a veranda. Many of these modifications are believed to have been introduced by peasants and masons who came from other parts of the South Slav lands. For example, the first tiles were introduced into the Šumadija at the beginning of the nineteenth century by itinerant workers (*pečalbari*) of the Pirot and Niš regions (Fig. 60).



Fig. 60. Old house of Šumadija type

Based on J. Cvijić, *The Peopling of the Serbian Lands*, Book 2, p. 33 (Belgrade, 1903). Old houses of this type are still fairly widespread in the Šumadija and Morava regions of north Serbia. The square plan and the veranda have survived as typical features of the modern houses, but the wooden framework and walls have been abandoned in favour of bricks. The peculiar chimney, which was characteristic of the Šumadija houses, is now seen only in old houses.

Modern houses are often built by itinerant masons from the *pečalbari* villages of South Serbia, such as Debar. They bear little resemblance to the Bosnian type except that they are composed of a single storey. They have no timber framework and are built of bricks (either sun-dried or kiln-baked), which are covered with plaster and whitewashed. Roofs are tiled and the brick chimney is of the usual type found in western Europe. The *kuća* becomes a corridor or hall (compare the various meanings of our word 'hall') and there are usually three rooms. The modern houses provide few

nooks and crannies where lice can take refuge and are therefore much more hygienic than the wooden and adobe buildings.

Alpine types. The Alpine type of house is found in its characteristic form in Slovenia, but becomes progressively modified towards the south-east. In Slovenia, two- or three-storeyed houses are sometimes built entirely of stone, especially in the villages, but more often the



Fig. 61. Alpine type of house

Based on Kurt Hielscher, *Picturesque Yugoslavia—Orbis Terrarum Series* (Berlin, 1926).

The houses of the Slovenian Alps are very similar to the *châlets* of Switzerland and Austria. They are usually of several storeys and possess covered balconies. In the larger villages, the whole house tends to be of stone instead of possessing the wooden upper storeys shown in the figure.

walls of the ground floor are constructed of stone and the upper walls of wooden planks. Houses made entirely of logs are still fairly common. The general appearance is similar to that of a Swiss *châlet*. Covered balconies run along one or more sides of the first floor, and the wooden parapets are decorated by pierced designs. The roof is steep, with big, overhanging eaves, especially when made of rows of planks; tiles are much used in the villages. The houses may have six or eight rooms, and a cellar and attic in addition (Fig. 61).

In Croatia, and even in parts of Bosnia, the Alpine type of house occurs in modified form. Houses are of two or three storeys, and usually have an outside staircase leading to the first floor, which

often has a balcony. At the gable-ends there are little supplementary roofs projecting from the walls to protect the windows from penetration by rain. The materials for the outer walls vary; wood and stone both being common. Roofs may be of rows of planks, tiles or thatch. The bedrooms and the 'best' room are usually on the first floor, opening on to the veranda, but the kitchen-living-room is usually on the ground floor, together with the stables, store-rooms, etc. (Fig. 62).

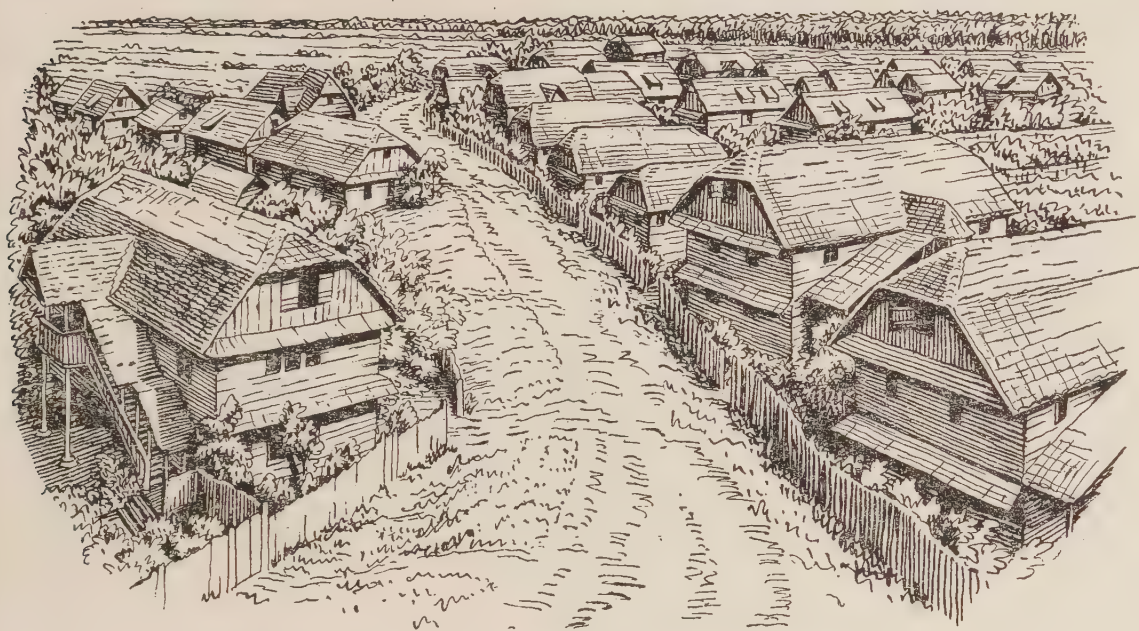


Fig. 62. Croatian houses showing Alpine influence

Based on L. Adamić, *The Return of the Native* (London 1934).

The Alpine influence is seen mainly in the many storeys and in the commodious nature of the houses. The covered outside staircase leading to the living rooms on the first floor is frequently found, but it is not seen in all houses. Other features appear to derive directly from house-types of the Pannonian plain. The turning of the gable-end towards the street is very characteristic.

Huts on the high *planina* or mountain pastures of Slovenia are of peculiar form. Built entirely of wood with log walls and shingle roofs, they are of one storey and oval in shape. They have no chimneys and no windows, though a few of the wooden roofing tiles may be removed and small panes of glass inserted. They are inhabited only in summer. These huts have many features in common with the Bosnian type of house, and are unlike the more usual Alpine huts and houses found in the valleys (Plate 10).

III. *The Adriatic region*

In this region, both along the coast and in the karstlands, houses of two storeys and one storey intermingle. They differ from the

two-storeyed houses of the central region in having much flatter roofs, often made of slabs of stone, and in general appearance and details of building and architecture they conform to the style commonly found along the northern shores of the Mediterranean sea. Curved roofing tiles are much employed along the Adriatic coast. Stone houses and stone walls give the villages their characteristic appearance.

In the Adriatic and karst areas one-storeyed houses are even more common than two-storeyed houses, though many peasants live in



Fig. 63. A tower-house or *kula*

Based on J. Cvijić, *The Peopling of the Serbian Lands*, Book 5, p. 14 (Belgrade, 1909). The *kule*, found principally near the Albanian border, were miniature fortresses, with loop-holes or very small windows on the ground and first floors. An outside staircase, concealed by a wooden porch in the example illustrated, gave entry to an upper storey; the living rooms were at the top of the house. The outbuilding on the right-hand side of the figure is typically Bosnian, with a steep wooden roof in which are louvres allowing the escape of smoke.

stone tenement houses in the small towns and the richer peasants live in two-storeyed houses in the country. The stone for the simple one-storeyed houses is often unmortared; near the coast their roofs are usually of tiles, stone slabs farther inland and rye straw in the karst regions farthest from the sea. Many of these cabins consist of a single room with an open hearth at one end; there is no chimney.

The *kule*, or towers, are a special development, found scattered along the borders of Albania in Montenegro, Hercegovina and South Serbia. They were built by well-to-do Montenegrins and Serbs and formed real fortresses, usually of three storeys high, without windows on the ground floor and only very small ones on the first floor (Fig. 63).

IV. *The Vardar region*

In the Vardar area houses of two storeys are the most common type, but one-storeyed houses are found to some extent. Mediterranean influence is not so strong here and stone is not so all-pervading. The two-storeyed houses have flattish roofs, covered with tiles or slabs of stone, the walls of the lowest storey are usually made of stone, whereas the upper storey may have adobe walls reinforcing a timber framework. The living-rooms are found on the first floor, often approached by an outside staircase, but the kitchen is on the ground floor, together with the stable and store-rooms. In olden days the animals were only safe in this region when under the immediate supervision of the owner. The courtyards of the houses are usually enclosed, often by a high wall made of unmortared stone or adobe, sometimes by a quickset hedge, or by piles of thorns.

Houses of one storey are inhabited by poorer peasants. They usually contain only one room and a table, but in the most primitive regions, or among the poorest peasants, living-room and stable are combined—the family living at one end and the animals at the other. In the fertile valleys and *polja* of South Serbia, the one-roomed hovels built by the *begs* for their serfs can still be seen. They consist solely of one room, poorly built of mud or sun-dried bricks, and are roofed usually with thatch. They have no stable or store-room.

Houses with typical Moslem features are found in many parts of southern Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia and South Serbia. They usually consist of two storeys. They may be distinguished by the absence of windows on the ground floor facing the street, by their overhanging latticed windows on the first floor, and by the high wall which surrounds the courtyard and garden (Plate 11). When the door in this wall stands open, it usually means that the house has ceased to be in Moslem occupation.

The standard of housing

It will be seen, therefore, that the standard of housing varies very much from one region to another. Peasant houses in Slovenia, and in the Vojvodina, and to a less extent in the lowlands of Croatia, Bosnia and north Serbia are usually commodious and well furnished, but in other parts there is much rural overcrowding. This is worst in the barren and backward regions, particularly in the karstlands and South Serbia, where one or more families may inhabit a one-roomed house. In most parts of the country the younger children

usually share their parents' bedroom, while young boys often sleep with the animals or in the barn. There is no clear distinction between living-rooms and bedrooms; since relatively few houses outside Slavonia and Croatia have more than three rooms, every room is likely to have a bed in it, though beds are uncommon in South Serbia and in parts of Bosnia and Hercegovina.



Fig. 64. Typical house of the Vardar region

Based on J. Cvijić, *The Peopling of the Serbian Lands*, Book 2, p. 41 (Belgrade, 1903). This house in the Skopska Crna Gora shows the flattish tiled roof which betrays Mediterranean influence. The lower walls are made of stone, the upper of adobe with a timber framework. The main living quarters are on the first floor, but not all the houses have balconies; stables, store-room and kitchen are on the ground floor.

In the Turkicized parts of Serbia, and also in most parts of the karstlands, the houses have very little furniture. In southern Serbia the peasants usually sleep on the floor on mats or rugs which are rolled up in the daytime. A low portable table (*sofra*) and stools are used at meal-times, though ordinary tables and chairs are becoming more common; there is often no other furniture except wooden chests in which the festive dresses are kept, though there may be a loom. In the houses of the karstlands, permanent benches of compacted earth are arranged on either side of the open hearth, and these are used as seats in the daytime and as beds at night.



Plate 8. Djakovica

This small Montenegrin town near the Albanian frontier lies at a meeting place of cultures. Moslem women, clad in enveloping draperies, are seen side by side with Christian peasant women; the white skull cap worn by most of the men in the picture is said to denote Albanian origin. The flattish roofs and curved tiles of the buildings denote Mediterranean influence; the minaret speaks for itself.



Plate 9. Višegrad

This view is typical of many streets in Bosnian villages. The houses are mainly composed of wood, but walls may be covered with plaster, or less frequently, composed of dried mud or sundried bricks. Note the absence of chimneys, whose place is taken by louvres in the roof. The house on the extreme left is typical of the houses built between 1918 and 1940.

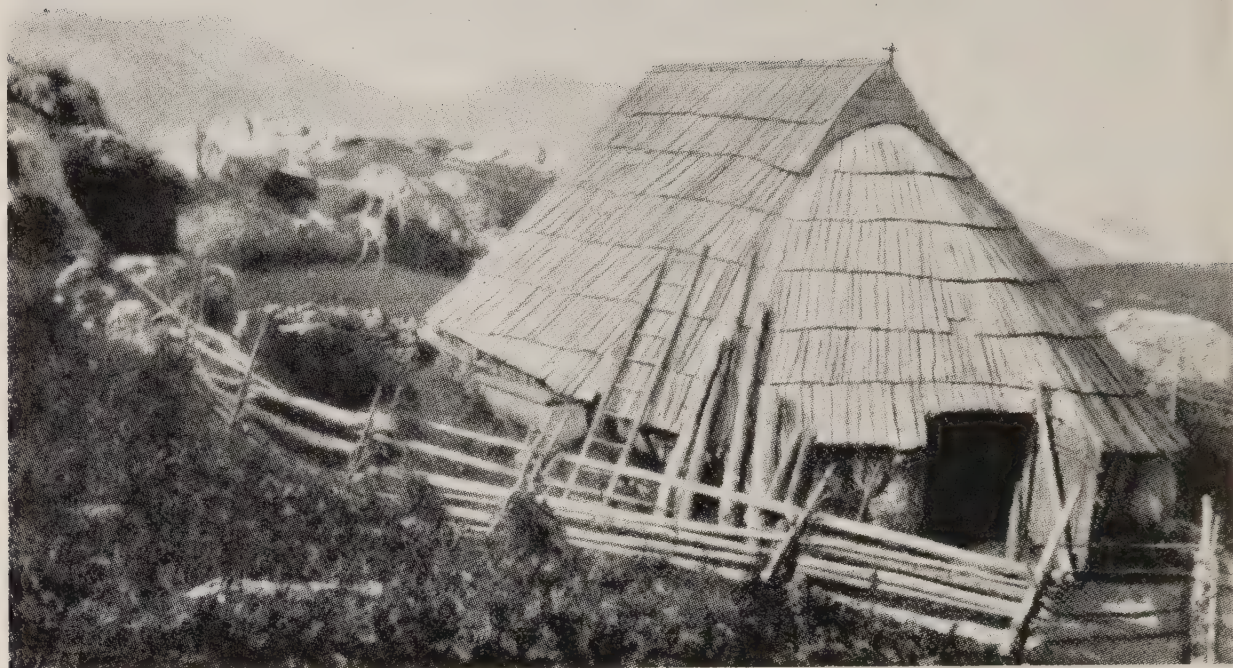


Plate 10. Hut on Velika Planina, Slovenia

The one-storeyed wooden huts frequently seen on the high mountain pastures of Slovenia have many points of resemblance to the typical Bosnian house and are much more primitive than the typical Slovenian house shown in Fig. 61. They are inhabited only in summer.



Plate 11. Moslem house and woman, Prizren

The house on the left shows several typical Moslem features in the absence of windows on the ground floor, the graceful projection of the corner window on the first floor and the high wall round the garden. The Moslem woman is careful to cover her face and hands when out of doors.

Moslem houses, even among the well-to-do, also have little furniture; the sleeping mattresses or quilts are put away in cupboards in the daytime, and cushions brought out which are arranged on the long, low seat under the window.

Slovenian houses, and to a less extent, those of the Vojvodina and Croatia, may have elaborate wooden furniture, often painted, and display a profusion of embroidered linen in the way of bedspreads, pillow-covers, table-cloths, towels and so on, which are conspicuously lacking in the backward areas. Tapestry rugs, hand-made in Pirot and elsewhere, are used as covers or to decorate walls in Serbia, Bosnia and the Vojvodina.

The standard of housing has shown considerable improvement in the last hundred years, and especially in the last decades, in spite of wars and the great slump of the 1930's. Many new and better houses have been built, with larger windows, boarded floors and chimneys. Tables and chairs are sometimes found in remote villages, especially in the *pečalbari* villages of southern Serbia, such as Galičnik, where the men have brought back more advanced ideas. Lighting and heating remain a problem in many areas, and though paraffin lamps are now widely found, candles and even wood chips continue to be used. The introduction of iron stoves even in remote areas is noteworthy in recent years, but outside the forested zone there is a great shortage of fuel, dried cow-dung being much used in South Serbia, while charcoal is used to some extent along the Adriatic coast.

TOWN LIFE

Since only about 20% of the people of Yugoslavia live in towns of over 10,000 inhabitants, as compared with about 70% in the United Kingdom, it is obvious that urban life plays a comparatively unimportant rôle.

The distribution of the towns is very uneven, in fact there are few urban centres of any size outside four main areas, namely (i) the lowlands along the rivers Danube, Sava and Drava in the north; (ii) the coastlands of the Adriatic sea; (iii) South Serbia; and (iv) south-east Bosnia. It may be said that there were no towns of any importance in Serbia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, except Belgrade, and even this town was only a small place of some 20,000 inhabitants.

In modern times, life in many of the larger cities of Yugoslavia had become much the same as in towns of western and central Europe. This applies especially to Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Between 1918 and 1940, Belgrade was extensively rebuilt and transformed into a modern city with broad streets, modern public buildings, blocks of flats, well-built suburban houses and modern shops. Zagreb, which was partially destroyed by an earthquake in 1880, was subsequently partly rebuilt; a new commercial quarter having broad streets on the grid system was laid out at the foot of the picturesque older part of the town, with its towering Gothic cathedral, and old residential and administrative buildings. Since 1918, the town has doubled in size and has spread out in several directions. Ljubljana, with its castle-crowned citadel and its graceful buildings, resembles one of the more pleasant towns of Austria. All three of these cities are centres of culture; each possesses a university, at least one theatre, and acts as headquarters for many newspapers and journals; they contain most, if not all, of the amenities found in the best types of western European city, with little of the smoke and grime.

Many towns, however, present features not usually found in western Europe. For example, the urban centres of the Vojvodina have more the appearance of overgrown villages than of towns, as about half of the population consists of peasants who daily travel considerable distances to work in the fields, and who live in one-storeyed houses which are little, if any, different from those of the villages. This is true even of Subotica, the largest town, in spite of its agricultural industries. Novi Sad, its smaller rival, and a former 'free' city, has the same semi-peasant character, though it has long been a centre of culture. The other centres of the Vojvodina, such as Sombor, Senta and Petrovgrad (formerly Veliki Bečkerek), have very little civic character. Being relatively new towns, with few administrative functions, they have neither historic churches nor important civic buildings; moreover, being mainly peasant communities, containing few well-to-do people, or even well-paid artisans, there is little provision of shops or amusements such as are found in the towns of western Europe.

The towns of the Adriatic coast show characteristics which contrast markedly with those of the Vojvodina. Towns are especially numerous along this coast, as compared with Yugoslavia as a whole. The buildings themselves are closely packed, instead of spreading over a large area as in the Vojvodina; they are generally of great beauty

and historical interest, dating from the Renaissance, the Middle Ages, and even earlier. The old town of Split (Spalato), for instance, was built within the palace erected by the emperor Diocletian at the beginning of the fourth century A.D., and though this town has preserved a busy commercial life, many of the other centres, which were renowned for their trade in past times, are now 'dead' cities like our own Winchelsea and Rye, and in recent years have derived most of their revenue from foreign tourists. Even small centres had excellent hotels with a polyglot staff. Though possessing palaces, cathedrals, campaniles and loggias, which indicate their importance in past times, few of the old towns, apart from Split, Šibenik (Sebenico), and to a less extent Dubrovnik (Ragusa), can be said to serve either as cultural, commercial or administrative centres of any importance, but Split is the virtual capital of modern Dalmatia. Sušak, the newly developed port next door to Fiume, is a mushroom town which has been developing on western lines.

Still another totally different type of town is to be found in Yugoslavia. In Bosnia and South Serbia, most of the towns retain a markedly oriental appearance. Turkish influence was much stronger here than in the countryside, as the Moslem population contained a high percentage of urban-dwelling landlords and administrators. Towns such as Sarajevo, Skoplje, Mostar and Bitolj are noted for their bazaars, similar to the *suks* of North Africa, where merchants display their wares and craftsmen ply their trade in small booths; in some bazaars each street is devoted to a particular commodity or group of commodities. Minarets and poplar trees rise picturesquely above the level of the many fine Turkish houses, streets are narrow and winding, but the towns cover a considerable area for their size, since each house usually has a walled garden. The seclusion and veiling of Moslem women gives a very un-European atmosphere, and women are seldom found at cafés or at places of entertainment. The towns contain numerous cafés for the townspeople, and the larger towns had begun to provide good modern hotels for officials, business-men and tourists. Until recently, however, the towns failed to serve as cultural centres, owing to the stagnation of Turkish life and to the frequent clash of interests between the Moslem townspeople and the mass of the country people who were of Christian religion. Since their liberation, some of the cities have undergone a renaissance, particularly Skoplje, where an entirely new European city was built between 1918 and 1938, side by side with the oriental city. Skoplje has now become a commercial

and cultural centre of some importance for the whole of South Serbia.

Apart from the towns and areas already mentioned, urban life in Yugoslavia is not well developed. There are few large industrial centres, and even in those that exist, the workers are poorly paid, and neither private individuals nor the urban council can afford to spend money on fine buildings, parks or good roads. Even a busy industrial town, such as Osijek, which is also the regional capital of Slavonia, has an ill-kept and poverty-stricken appearance.

Except in a few of the larger cities, such as Belgrade, Zagreb and Subotica, it is possible to see the surrounding countryside even from the central portion of the town. On the market days the towns are thronged with peasants. Even in Zagreb the peasants bring their produce to the great weekly market, and in addition there are daily stalls where such commodities as embroideries and vegetables are sold. One of the tiresome survivals from past times is the *octroi*, at which a toll is paid on all the produce which the peasants bring to market, and which considerably increases the urban cost of living.

The main causes of the high cost of living in towns are the taxes on business turnovers and other indirect taxation, though in Belgrade the great centralization of administrative departments and of commercial enterprises in the city after 1918 had caused a great shortage of housing, and consequent high rents and high prices. The standard of living in towns is a modest one, but the cost of living is rather higher than in the towns of the neighbouring countries.

As is usual on the Continent, towns are astir early, but they usually quieten down fairly early at night. During the heat of summer, from about mid-June to mid-September, it is customary for business offices to close during the hottest part of the day, and most people take a siesta. Government offices in summer also normally start work very early, and close at 2 p.m. It is the custom in many towns for the people to promenade up and down one of the main streets when the heat of the day has subsided. This 'corso' usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the people disperse for supper, either at home or in cafés. There is generally little 'night life' in the towns and modern forms of 'entertainment' are not widespread.

The number and distribution of theatres in the country in 1937 are shown in the following table:

<i>Banovina</i>	Number of theatres	State owned	Privately owned	Pro-fessional	Amateur
Dravska	7	3	4	3	4
Drinska	1	1	—	1	—
Dunavska	3	1	2	1	2
Moravska	1	1	—	1	—
Primorska	5	—	5	—	5
Savska	6	3	3	3	3
Vardarska	7	2	5	4	3
Vrbaska	1	1	—	1	—
Zetska	2	2	—	1	1
Belgrade (pref.)	2	2	—	1	1
Total	35	16	19	17	18

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1937, pp. 304-5 (Beograd, 1938).

Within recent years there has been a gradual increase in the number of cinemas, but the following table indicates that in 1937 they were unevenly distributed throughout the country:

<i>Banovina</i>	Sound projectors	Silent projectors	Total number of cinemas	Chief town	Number of cinemas
Dravska	52	1	53	Ljubljana	8
Drinska	17	1	18	Sarajevo	6
Dunavska	86	8	94	Novi Sad	5
Moravska	22	1	23	Niš	3
Primorska	14	1	15	Split	3
Savska	69	1	70	Zagreb	14
Vardarska	24	—	24	Skoplje	4
Vrbaska	12	—	12	Banja Luka	2
Zetska	11	—	11	Cetinje	1
Belgrade (pref.)	23	—	23	Belgrade	20
Total	330	13	343		66

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1937, p. 306 (Beograd, 1938).

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

A state insurance scheme for industrial workers was inaugurated in 1922, which established the principle of obligatory insurance against illness, old age, death and accidents, but in actual fact the insurance against disability, old age and death only became compulsory in 1937. In 1938 there were 715,186 workers insured under the state compulsory scheme, but the scheme did not cover work in all enterprises, nor did it cover the many peasants who augmented their agricultural income by part-time work in local factories.

A Workmen's Protection Act was passed in 1922 which limited the working day to eight hours (48 hours weekly), regularized the position of women and child workers and prohibited their employment in night work. It also provided for the establishment of eight 'labour chambers' as recognized organizations for the representation of the working classes, as well as a few labour exchanges. In 1937 a decree providing for minimum wages established a basic wage of 2 dinars per hour (about 2*d.*), while towards the end of 1937 the minimum wage was fixed at 22·7 dinars a day (about 1*s.* 10*d.*). In 1938, the government established labour exchanges to regulate the labour supply and demand, to assist workers in finding jobs and to provide unemployment relief.

Trade Unions were permitted but were not very effective. In 1940 the main trade unions were as follows:

(1) *U.R.S. (Ujedinjeni Radnički Sindikati*, i.e. 'Union of Workers' Syndicates'), a federation of unions covering the whole country, with its centre at Belgrade, and a membership of about 100,000.

(2) *O.R.S. (Opći Radnički Savez*, i.e. 'General Workers' Union'), a union with different sections; headquarters at Zagreb, with a membership of about 60,000.

(3) *Kršćanska Socialistična Strukovna Zveza*, i.e. 'Christian Socialist Union', with 16,000 workers.

(4) *Združenje Slovenskih Delavcev*, i.e. 'Union of Slovene Workers', with 12,000 members.

Both (3) and (4) were confined to Slovenia and were led by the Catholic Party.

(5) *H.R.S. (Hrvatski Radnički Savez)*, an organization connected with the Croat Peasant Party; it spread rapidly from 1935, and secured 145,000 members, in Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia.

The main social legislation affecting the peasants was of course the agrarian reform; they are not covered by the national insurance schemes. The state, however, gives some help to the co-operative societies, mainly in the forms of exemption from taxation, granting of credits, and the guarantee of a quota in agricultural exports.

FOOD, NUTRITION AND COOKING

Food

The basic diet of the people consists of maize bread except in the marginal localities where maize does not grow successfully or where the people have been influenced by other customs. In Slovenia, and

to a considerable extent in the north-eastern plain, as well as on the Adriatic coast, wheaten bread is usually eaten. It is also consumed by the well-to-do and by the townspeople in all regions. In the poorest areas in the mountains, rye bread is not unknown. Maize porridge is prepared only by the people of Roumanian origin who inhabit the Timok area of north-eastern Serbia.

Many vegetables are eaten, especially haricot and broad beans, lentils, cabbage, onions, paprikas and tomatoes. Beans form the staple diet on fast days, which are observed on Wednesdays as well as on Fridays by the more conservative members of the Orthodox Church. Cabbage is made into sauerkraut, and paprikas and tomatoes are dried for use in winter.

Milk products enter greatly into the diet except along the Adriatic coast, where olive oil takes the place of butter. The latter is not such an important foodstuff as cheese, which is the chief source of protein in the diet. It is made from cows' milk in Slovenia and in many parts of the forest belt, but sheep's milk cheese and to a less extent goats' milk cheese, is prepared in the karstlands and in the higher mountains generally, and it is very popular over most of the country. Sour milk is also consumed. Fresh milk and butter are especially important in Slovenia, but elsewhere they tend to be confined to the towns. The place of butter is taken in most parts of the country by lard and by very fat bacon.

Meat is eaten several times a week by well-to-do families, but enters little into the diet of the poorer peasants, especially in the summer. Sucking pig is the national meat dish over the greater part of Yugoslavia, though veal is more popular in Slovenia. Smoked bacon—the fatter the better—is eaten in winter, and in some districts smoked beef and mutton. Chickens are eaten by those who can afford them, and geese are reared for the table in the northern lowlands.

There is not much fruit available except in the summer. At that season there is an abundance of plums, apples and nuts in the orchard lands along the northern hills, and of grapes in the vineyard districts. Melons are plentiful and cheap in the north-eastern plains of the Vojvodina. Peaches, apricots and figs are grown in certain favoured areas. The plums are dried for prunes, made into jam, and used as the base of plum brandy (*šljivovica*).

In the mountainous regions there are fewer vegetables than in the lowlands and hill country, even less meat, but more milk products.

Along the Adriatic coast the diet is characteristically Mediterranean. Wheaten bread, olive oil and wine are the staples of life.

There are vegetables in variety. Fish is popular, but there is little meat of any sort, and unlike the continental areas, there are hardly any pig-products. Figs and grapes are important fruits.

Very few imported foodstuffs are eaten in any part of Yugoslavia. Tea is little known except in the big towns. Coffee is the popular imported beverage. The *per capita* consumption of sugar is the lowest in Europe, even though sugar-beet is grown within the country. Lemons are imported, but few other fruits.

In addition to *šljivovica*, many forms of spirits (*rakija*) are prepared. Wine is consumed in the grape-growing regions. Beer is not much known outside the north-west and the towns, but *boza*, a form of beer made from maize, is prepared in many parts.

Nutrition

The standard of nutrition varies considerably from region to region. In the lands of rich agriculture, nutrition is usually adequate, and though the food is different from that of England, it cannot be said to be less nourishing. In the karst region, however, even along the Adriatic coast and islands, and in the barren mountains of South Serbia there is much malnutrition. Fig. 65 shows the areas where there is a grain deficiency, and in these regions many of the people live at starvation level for at least part of the year. Owing to the high cost of transport the price of cereals is between 75 % and 100 % higher than in the producing regions, and though the people live to a considerable extent on animal products, particularly milk and cheese, the land is too poor to carry enough livestock to provide for all. Before the economic depression of 1930-36, many of the peasants received money from members of the family who had emigrated abroad or had sought work elsewhere in the country, but there were many families who lacked this supplementary income. Recent investigations conducted in various districts of Bosnia, Hercegovina and Dalmatia have shown that the peasants live in much harder circumstances than had previously been thought. Even well-to-do peasants usually have only two meals a day, consisting of lunch and supper.

Cooking

The peasant women take much time and trouble to prepare a meal as good as their resources will permit, and the standard of cooking is high even in little village inns. Many of the dishes are

common to the whole of south-eastern Europe (including Hungary and Roumania). They are presumably of Turkish origin, though many Viennese dishes are also known in the districts which were under Austrian rule for a long time.

The most common meat dishes are stews, cooked in a casserole

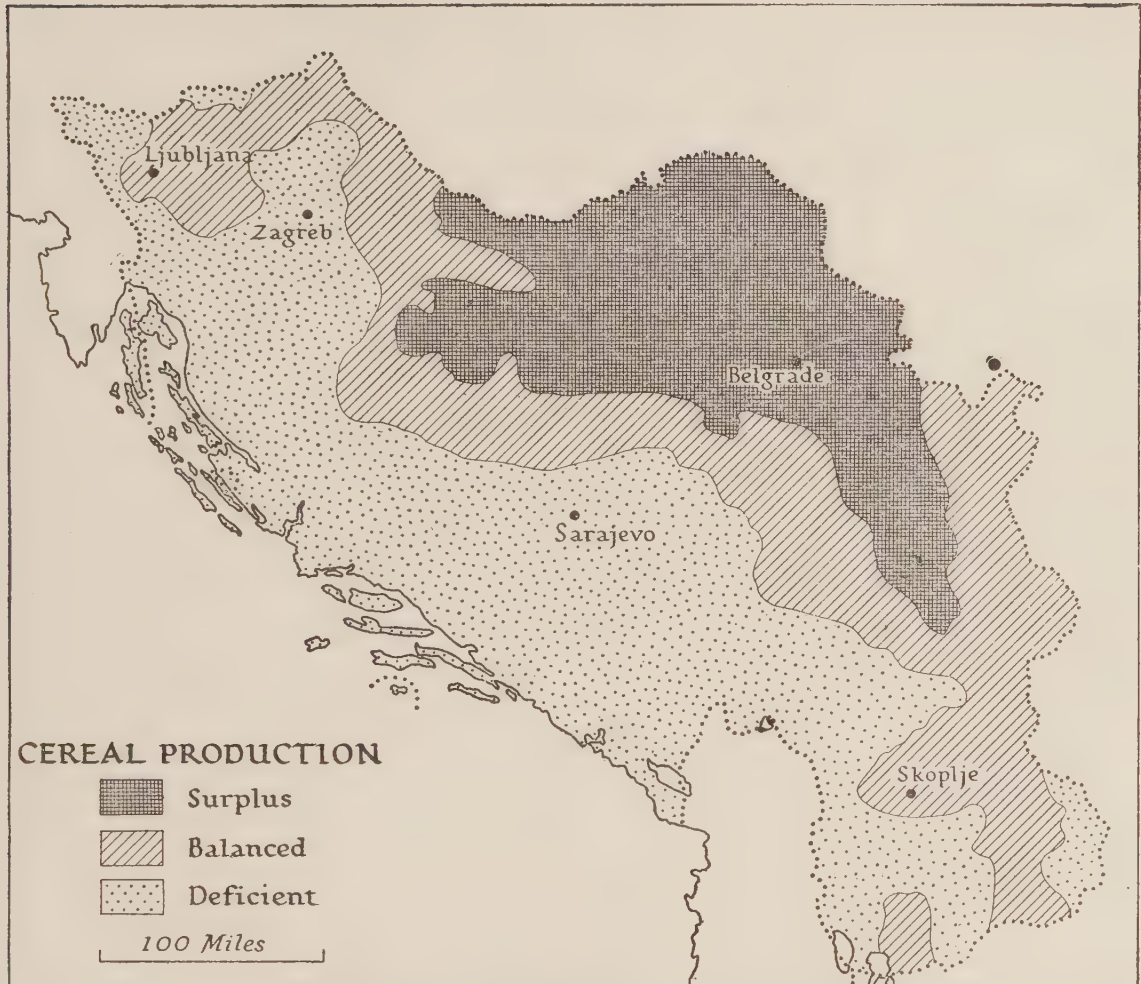


Fig. 65. Zones of cereal production

Based on R. Bičanić, 'The effects of war on rural Yugoslavia', *Geographical Journal*, vol. 103, p. 42 (London, 1944).

The 'deficiency' zone has an average production of cereals sufficient to give only 143 kg. of bread per head of population, as against 304 kg. and 1,073 kg. per head in the 'balanced' and 'surplus' zones respectively. As other foodstuffs are also deficient in most parts of the 'deficiency' zone, the population is normally undernourished.

(*djuvec* or *tava*), similar to the Hungarian goulasch; sausages and minced meat cooked between cabbage leaves or vine leaves and known as *sami* are also very popular dishes. Roast and grilled meats are not common because the animals are not specifically reared for their flesh in most areas, and the meat in consequence is usually not naturally tender; young animals, such as pigs, sheep and even goats,

are often roasted whole on spits, especially for festive occasions, while meat from older animals is pounded with a mallet to make it less tough.

Many types of soup are prepared, and there are many dishes made from rice, especially in South Serbia, and to a less extent in the regions under former Hungarian rule. Rice dishes (*pilaff*) with chicken or chickens' livers are deservedly popular.

Many vegetarian dishes are served, such as bean *purée*, well flavoured with paprika, onions or garlic, or stuffed green paprikas, but the most frequent and popular non-meat dish is *pita*. This takes various forms, but consists essentially of many layers of pastry, rolled out to the thinness of paper with a stuffing between each layer. The whole thing is smeared with lard and then baked. There is a great variety of fillings, such as spinach, cheese, eggs, sometimes jam and occasionally meat.

There are few puddings, but much very sweet stiff jam (*slatko*) is made, and fruits are preserved in wine. The *slatko* is almost a symbol of hospitality in Serbia, the custom being for all guests to be offered a dish of *slatko* and a glass of cold water on arrival. Guests are expected to take about a teaspoonful of the *slatko*. In the lands formerly under Austrian rule pancakes are commonly served as a pudding.

Coffee is prepared in the Turkish manner in most parts of the country, but in Slovenia it is more often served in the Austrian manner with whipped cream.

CLOTHING

General Features

Throughout Yugoslavia the country people wear one of the many forms of national dress, except in the more sophisticated regions of the north-west and north, where it is only worn on special occasions, such as at weddings and at the great religious festivals. People in the larger towns have discarded it completely and the peasants naturally wear only a simplified version of their national dress while working.

The importance of the costumes should not be underrated, for they are not 'fancy dress'. In past times they were of great value in asserting and preserving nationality; they served as almost the sole means of artistic expression, and they formed almost the sole portable wealth of the peasants. A peasant's clothes proclaim not

only his or her native place, but very often indicate the religion professed. A man's headgear is of especial significance; for example the typical national Serbian cap is worn only by Orthodox Serbs, though Orthodox Montenegrins and Hercegovinians wear a little flat pill-box cap. Men of Catholic Croatia and Slovenia wear felt hats with brims, prototypes of western trilbies and bowlers. There are some pitfalls to be noted by foreigners, however, especially in Bosnia, where many men who are not Moslems wear turbans. Moslem men usually wear a red fez, with or without a turban, but in the southern part of the country, particularly in Old Serbia, around Novi Pazar and in Metohija, most of the Moslem men wear a small skull cap made of white felt (Plate 8). Moslem women can be distinguished from Christian women by the fact that their faces are always covered, except among Albanian Moslems, though the covering may take various forms. The most frequent form is a veil of black muslin or thin cotton, which completely covers the face, though white face veils with or without slits for the eyes are worn in a few regions, and the all-enveloping cloak of the women of Mostar gives so much concealment that no veil is necessary. Moslem women do not invariably wear full 'Turkish' trousers, though these are worn in many districts; on the other hand, these trousers form part of the national dress of many Christian women especially in the towns of Bosnia and southern Serbia, and also of the gypsy women in these areas. Moslem women usually envelop themselves in voluminous concealing wrappers when outside their houses.

Although many influences are mingled in the national costumes of Jugoslavia there are certain broad characteristics common to all, with the possible exception of the women's 'Turkish' costumes. The costumes are usually made of materials produced by the peasants, and spun, woven and even dyed at home. Wool comes from the peasant's sheep, and the flax and hemp from his own fields. Cotton material is usually made nowadays from imported yarns, but silk is often produced from silk-worms reared by the peasants in the southern part of the country, though in recent years there has been some competition from artificial silk, especially among the gypsies who buy their materials ready-made. Hand embroidery is a great feature of the costumes, even on men's attire. The making of the costumes, from the spinning of the wool to the production of the finished garments, naturally takes a very long time and peasants are seldom willing to sell their costumes. The special gala costumes are made of such excellent material that they last a lifetime,

and are even handed down as heirlooms. Almost every village and certainly every district preserves its own styles of dress, and its own traditional designs of embroidery, braiding and combinations of colours.

Women's national dress (Plates 11-15)

Apart from the relatively few districts where trousers are worn, the basic costume worn by women consists either of a white one-piece dress or of a white blouse combined with a dark skirt. Embroidery usually adorns the sleeves, neck and hem. An apron, usually heavily embroidered, is worn over the skirt in nearly every district. A short, sleeveless jacket (*jelek*) is worn throughout almost the whole country by men and women alike, even by the trousered women, except in Croatia and Slavonia, where the women usually wear a stay-bodice instead, after the Austrian manner. Head-dresses vary considerably and range from the simple kerchief to elaborate arrangements which include coins, flowers and false hair. In Croatia and Slovenia muslin caps of many types are worn. Many women now wear factory-made shoes, but the traditional footgear is the *opanka* (plural *opanči*), which is more like a mocassin than a sandal.

The variety of clothing styles is so great that no attempt can be made to describe them in detail; a few which have achieved considerable fame deserve mention. The simple but becoming styles worn in Konavljje, near Dubrovnik, and in the areas round Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana are widely known. These contrast markedly with the elaborate and often cumbersome styles of South Serbia, such as those worn in Skopska Crna Gora, near Skoplje, where the women are weighted down by a multiplicity of heavy garments, and where their heads are swathed in a voluminous wimple which even covers the mouth. The costumes of Galičnik are also very elaborate, with a long-sleeved jacket worn under the chemise frock as well as a *jelek* over it. The belt is wound several times round the waist, and usually two aprons are worn, one over the other; the final touch is a silken shawl worn like another but shorter apron (Plate 13). The custom of swathing the waist-line is also seen in other districts, particularly round Prilep and Bitolj, where the women wind yards of braid round the middle of the body; a further characteristic feature of the Prilep costume is the wearing of long plaits of artificial hair which hang down the back beneath the head kerchief. Curiously enough, these three characteristic costumes of South Serbia reproduce many features seen in the dress of an Iron Age idol found at



Plate 12. Women of Prilep

The costume worn by the women of Prilep, Bitolj and neighbouring districts is the most peculiar in Yugoslavia. Its unique features are the plaits of false hair and the yards of black braid wound round the body. The similarity of these features to those shown on the Kličevac idol (Fig. 66) seem obvious, but the peasants explain the body swathing as a method of protection against punishment by the Turks.



Plate 13. Women of Galičnik

The costume worn by the women of Galičnik is one of the most elaborate in Yugoslavia. Although it consists of so many layers, its prevailing hues of red, magenta, white and gold give a very ornate effect.



Plate 14. Women of Sarajevo

Although wearing full trousers of the type usually known as 'Turkish', these girls show by their unveiled faces that they are Christian. The girl on the left is also wearing the 'Turkish' velvet jacket adorned with gold braid; the other girl is wearing a variant of the sleeveless jacket (*jelek*).

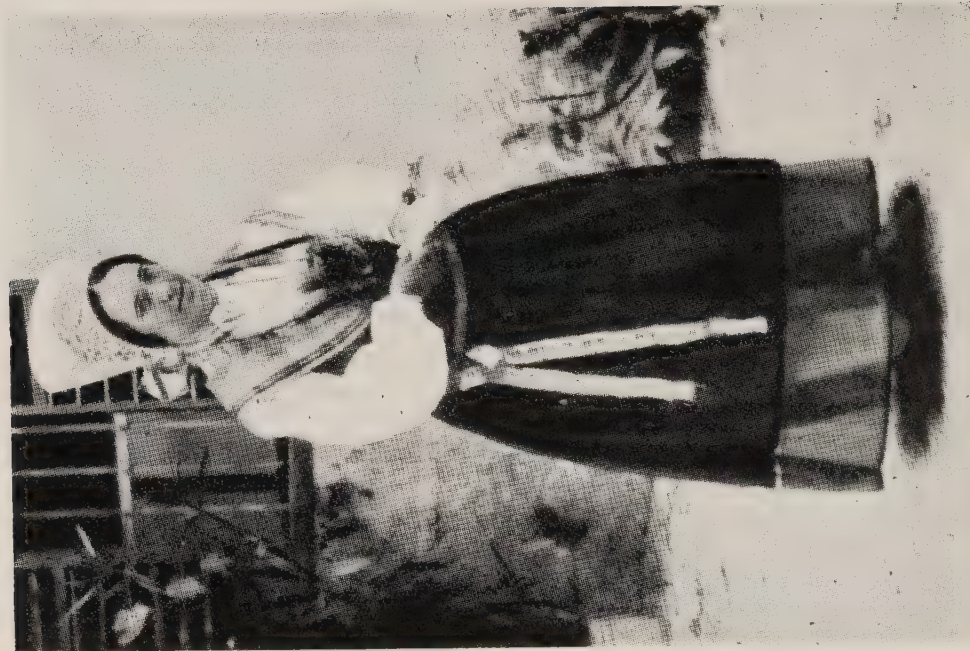


Plate 15. Woman of Kamnik

In Slovenia national dress is not worn everyday but only for very festive occasions. The main features in which this costume differs from those of the rest of Yugoslavia are the cap and the small shawl worn over the stay-bodice, which take the place of the head kerchief and the *jelek*.

Kličevac on the Middle Danube, and it has been suggested that the national costumes of this part of the Balkans not only ante-date the coming of the Slavs but also the Byzantine period (Fig. 66). Unfortunately, however, no comprehensive study of the origins and affinities of the various national costumes has yet been made.



Fig. 66. The Kličevac idol

Based on A. Brown (editor), *Essays on National Art in Yugoslavia*, p. 62 (London, 1944).

The costume of this Iron Age figurine or idol shows many points of resemblance to that worn in South Serbia at the present day. The fringed apron, the swathing round the body, and the decoration at the hem of the full skirt are characteristic features. The back of the head-dress perhaps shows an attempt to represent real or sham hair braided in the elaborate style now worn by peasant women of Prilep (Plate 12). Kličevac is on the river Danube, forty miles east of Belgrade.

Men's national dress

The costumes worn by men are somewhat less elaborate than those of the women, but in most areas embroidery adorns the neck and sleeves of shirts while the *jelek* is usually heavily braided. In a few regions, e.g. in Montenegro, the costume is very magnificent. Although the basic costume consists of shirt, trousers and *jelek* (except in Slovenia, where jackets are worn) there is an astonishing number of variations on these themes.

Shirts are usually of white linen or cotton, but may be worn either tucked into the trousers, in west-European fashion, or as tunics in the east-European fashion. The regions where the latter mode is adopted are curiously widely separated, ranging from Novi Pazar to

parts of Croatia. Trousers vary greatly in material and design. They are usually of white linen or cotton for summer wear, and brown homespun wool for winter wear, but fine cloth is used in some widely separated areas, such as Montenegro and the Šumadija. They vary in design from the narrow-legged west-European shape, to the full pleated garments resembling a divided skirt which are worn in the northern parts of Croatia. The type most widely found in all the south-eastern part of the country is presumably derived from a Turkish model; the upper part is full and baggy, but the garment is tight-fitting at and below the knee. They somewhat resemble jodhpurs, or, when worn with long socks, a queer type of riding breeches. In some parts of Yugoslavia, e.g. round Prilep, Veles, and in parts of Bosnia, men and especially little boys wear aprons as part of their national costume. Most men in the south-eastern areas wear a sash that is wound round the waist several times; into this they stuff all the accessories that go into a man's pockets in western Europe; belts are more frequently worn in the north and west. Men's woollen socks are hand-knitted, often in bright colours and in striking patterns. The *jelek*, which is of sheepskin in some districts, varies considerably in the amount of decoration. Braiding is very elaborate in the Šumadija and even more so in Montenegro, Hercegovina and parts of Dalmatia, where the *jelek* is often also adorned with gold or silver buttons or 'bugles'. Men usually wear *opanci*, except in a few regions, such as the north of Croatia and Montenegro, where high leather boots are worn.

Moslem men wear very similar clothes to those of Christians in the same districts and are chiefly distinguishable by their headgear (see p. 283). Older Moslems often grow beards, which are seldom seen among the South Slavs, apart from the Orthodox priests who are all bearded, and the old wandering bards.

In winter, peasants of both sexes wear thick coats with or without sleeves; they are usually made of wool but sometimes of sheepskin with the fleece inside. The sheepskin coats are often elaborately decorated with embroidery, appliqué work or braid. Mountain shepherds often wear cloaks of sheepskin worn with the fleece outside in the manner found all over south-eastern Europe. Sheepskin caps are frequently worn.

When working in the fields the peasants wear simpler clothes, though these may be fairly heavy and elaborate in South Serbia. In the northern parts of Croatia, the men wear white clothes in all weathers, but on the whole working clothes tend to be old and

patched. Young boys, in particular, often appear tattered and ragged, while little girls often have no other garment than a simple one-piece dress. Women and children go barefoot, except in the rocky parts of the country, though *opanci* soled with pieces of old motor-tyres have become very common in recent years as they are cheap and wear well. In many parts of the country drab western clothes are creeping in; these wear less well than the homespuns, and soon look shapeless and shabby.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

There are many beliefs and customs connected with the religions professed by the people, and there is a considerable amount of diversity from one region to another, partly bound up with the fact that the people of Serbia and Montenegro and many in Bosnia and the Vojvodina belong to the Orthodox Church, those of Croatia and Slovenia to the Roman Catholic Church, while considerable numbers in South Serbia and Bosnia profess Mohammedanism. Forty-eight per cent of the Yugoslavs are Orthodox, 38% are Catholic, and 11% are Moslem, while Protestants number only 1.7% and Jews 0.5%. Another reason for the diversity is the degree to which modern civilization has affected the lives of the people; in the remote country districts there are numerous traditional ceremonies and semi-pagan beliefs which people in the towns and in the north and west have abandoned.

Apart from the Moslem population, the celebrations connected with Christmas and Easter are not very different from those in other parts of Europe. The yule log, which is usually a young oak tree or a branch of a tree, is brought into the house on Christmas Eve. The first person to cross the threshold brings either good luck or bad, so arrangements are usually made beforehand to ensure that the right person is the 'first footer'. In the Orthodox regions the baking and eating of a ceremonial cake (*kolač*) for Christmas Day is an important feature. Easter is a great festival in both Christian churches, as elsewhere, and follows the long fast of Lent which is rigorously observed except in the big towns. The Saturday before Palm Sunday is Willow Day (*Vrbica*), when in most parts of Yugoslavia everyone wears a twig of willow catkins, and shops and hotels are decorated with them. The custom of preparing elaborate Easter eggs is shared with Hungary and the techniques used are the same.

Easter Sunday is celebrated with processions and with religious services, which include in some regions the blessing of flowers.

Among the Orthodox, Epiphany is associated with an important religious ceremony variously described as the 'Blessing of the Waters', the 'Baptism of the Cross', and the 'Marriage of the Cross and the River'. A cross is thrown into the icy water and recovered by hardy swimmers, but the ceremony may alternatively be achieved merely by the priest immersing a small cross in a bowl of water, blessing the water and withdrawing the cross. This rite appears to be a relic of a pagan winter solstice ceremony, which was designed to rescue a god from the clutch of winter.

Apart from the feasts of the church celebrated throughout the country in honour of famous national saints, such as St Sava, and other popular saints, such as St Nicholas, there is the *slava*, or festival in honour of the patron saint of a family, village or monastery. The *slava* is an important ceremony peculiar to the Serbs, but appears to be an exact parallel with the cult of the pagan household gods or *lares*, and it is explained by the peasants that when a family was first baptized by a Christian missionary this act converted the household *lar* into a Christian saint, so that the special protection was not lost to them. The *slava* requires the benediction of a priest and is usually preceded by a three-day fast leading up to a great feast at which all comers are entertained, while on the following days the family pays return visits.

There are many semi-pagan beliefs connected with luck and health. Gestures to avert misfortune, little rites to bring fertility and health are mingled with all the daily work of the peasants. No Serbian peasant of the remoter districts would begin his first day of ploughing or harrowing without first crossing himself, and decorating his oxen with flowers, especially with tufts of sweet basil. Before sowing, the peasant makes the sign of the cross, and begins to scatter the seed until he comes across the gold ring and sweet basil placed there by the women; he puts the basil in his cap, and wears the ring on his finger for the three or four days' sowing and the festival that follows, before returning it to its owner. There is a good deal of belief in sympathetic magic in the remoter regions where there are no trained doctors outside the towns. For example, to cure eye-trouble, the peasants scrape off the paint from the eyes of the saints painted on the church walls, and there are innumerable customs connected with healing, in addition to the more conventional prayers to the saints.

There is a very general belief in the beneficent nymphs or *vile*,

even in Slovenia, though it is doubtful whether this is held seriously in the more advanced districts. The belief in vampires appears to have lost ground steadily during the last fifty years, but cannot be said to have disappeared entirely.

Christening, marriage and burial customs are often very elaborate, but vary considerably from region to region. In the more backward districts, such as Macedonia, it is still the custom for a bride-price to be paid, but in most areas the girl has now to bring a dowry. Elaborate 'mock' negotiations are carried on even in Slovenia between the *starešina*, or prospective bridegroom's 'elder', and the girl's father, and there is a ceremonial knocking at the door of the bride's house on the wedding morning, the pretence of offering very young or very old females as brides, and so on. A widespread burial custom in Serbia is the eating of ceremonial cakes or other food by the side of the grave at suitable intervals after the interment, a custom also widely observed in Roumania.

Even the life of the Moslems has been coloured with the beliefs held by the Christian peasants, and this is hardly surprising as the Moslems of Bosnia are of the same racial origin, and had previously shared the same pagan beliefs as well as some of the Christian ones. The great occasions officially recognized are of course Ramadan and Bajram. During the thirty days of the former, all Moslems refrain from food and drink from sunrise to sunset; shops are shut for the greater part of the day. The three days of Bajram are kept as a holiday, and the men go visiting each other; the fourth day is often called women's day, for it is then their turn to visit friends. Bajram and Ramadan both follow the lunar calendar and therefore occur ten days earlier each year. Dervishes are still to be encountered in the towns of Macedonia, and still perform their wild and frenzied dancing. Moslems in Jugoslavia keep to the old ways, now abandoned in Turkey.

There is a considerable number of public holidays in Jugoslavia, during which time both business and government offices are closed. As the Orthodox Church keeps to the old calendar, this may cause some inconvenience, because the Orthodox Christmas falls thirteen days later than the same festival in the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. The Orthodox Easter may or may not coincide with the Catholic and Protestant Easter. Besides the major feasts of the church other recognized holidays are the anniversary on 28 June or St Vitus' Day (*Vidovdan*) of the Battle of Kosovo, the anniversary of the Union of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1 December, and the king's birthday.

NOTE ON THE POSITION OF WOMEN

The status of women, which is fairly high in the north-west of the country, diminishes towards the south-east. In Slovenia, the Vojvodina, the northern part of Croatia and northern Serbia it is similar to that of the adjacent countries of Austria and Hungary. In South Serbia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Montenegro and Dalmatia women have a very subordinate position and have to defer to all men and even to youths.

Everywhere women work in the fields at such tasks as planting, hoeing, hay-making and fruit-picking, the work being most arduous in Bosnia and Montenegro, where women take part in every kind of agricultural work, including ploughing and reaping. Many Montenegrin men do not even carry a parcel, a state of affairs which appears to date from the time when every man had to be ready to fight at an instant's notice. In parts of Bosnia the women eat only after the men have finished, they carry heavier loads, and go on foot while the men ride. Moslem women live in a state of seclusion and subordination which has been abandoned in Turkey itself.

The relative status of women in the different parts of the country is reflected very closely in the literacy figures. In the Dravska *banovina*, which corresponds to Slovenia, only 5·8% of females over 10 years old were illiterate at the census of 1931, and only 15% in the Belgrade prefecture. In the Savska, roughly corresponding with Croatia and Slavonia, there were 35%, and 40% in the Dunavska, or the Vojvodina. The Primorska (coastal) *banovina* had 70%, and there were over 80% in the five remaining areas.

More liberal ideas concerning the status of women were gaining ground among the younger generation in recent years, even to some extent in the south, especially in the more accessible valleys and in the developing towns where women could obtain some gainful occupation.

Paid occupations for women are few. Only 188,729 came under the national insurance scheme in 1938. Women are employed as servants in hotels and in private houses in towns, and also as shop assistants. There are few openings for women in industry, as the country has so few of the secondary or lighter factory industries, but some are employed in the textile factories. There are some openings for women in offices as typists, and in the lower grades of the postal service as telephonists. The teaching profession is open

to women, and also nursing, the latter work being often undertaken by nuns. There are a few women dentists and doctors. In a poor and undeveloped country, however, where there is not enough work for men there will obviously be few openings for women, especially as tradition is against the occupation of women outside domestic duties.

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(1) The fullest and most reliable account in English of social conditions among the peasants of Yugoslavia is Olive Lodge, *Peasant Life in Yugoslavia* (London, 1941); the book deals especially with Southern Serbia and the adjacent parts of Bosnia, Hercegovina and Montenegro where old customs are still observed. *Slovene Studies*, edited by L. Dudley Stamp and published by the Le Play Society (London, 1933), gives a careful account of village and country life in a small area of Slovenia. The results of observations made by a group of the Le Play Society in eastern Montenegro are summarized in J. H. G. Lebon, 'The *Jezerca*, a mountain community in south-west Serbia', *Geography*, vol. xx, pp. 271-82 (Manchester, 1935).

(2) Various League of Nations publications deal with Yugoslavia. Among these may be noted *Yugoslavia*, in the series *National Illustrated Monographs on Rural Life* (Geneva, 1939), *Nutrition in various countries* (Geneva, 1936), *The Land Tenure Systems in Europe* (Geneva, 1939).

(3) P. Kemp, *The Healing Ritual* (London, 1935), gives an account of folk medicine and sympathetic magic, especially as practised in the remoter parts of Yugoslavia.

(4) Numerous travel books contain much interesting material dealing with social conditions; among these may be mentioned: Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, 2 vols. (London, 1941), L. Adamić, *The Return of the Native* (London, 1934), Nora Alexander, *Wanderings in Yugoslavia* (London, 1936).

(5) In French the classic work is J. Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique, Géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918), which contains authoritative information on house-types, food, agriculture, the peoples, etc. The same author published in Serbo-Croat a monumental work entitled *The Peopling of the Serbian Lands (Naselja Srpskih Zemalja)*, which appeared in many parts from 1902 onwards, and was accompanied by an atlas containing not only maps but many photographs of villages, house-types, costumes, etc.

(6) Numerous modern studies by Yugoslav social-economists include two works by O. Frangeš, *Die Sozialökonomische Struktur der jugoslawischen Landwirtschaft* (Berlin, 1937) and 'L'Industrialisation des Pays agricoles du Sud-Est de l'Europe' in *La Revue Economique Internationale*, vol. III (Bruxelles et Paris, 1938).

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(7) The following are some of the journals which deal with questions of social economy:

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Chapter V

ASPECTS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN CULTURE

Medieval Development: The Yugoslav Oral Tradition: Modern Development:
Bibliographical Note

MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

When the Southern Slavs filtered into the Balkan peninsula in the seventh century, they brought with them a complex collection of pagan beliefs and practices to a country rich in mythology and monuments of the ancient classical world of which it had been an integral part. The tradition of the pre-Christian Slavs persists to this day in altered form in the oral tradition, in peasant customs and beliefs; monuments of classical antiquity are either uncovered by archaeological excavation as, for example, in the Necropolis at Trebenište in South Serbia, in Salona near Split (Spalato), and at Vinča near Belgrade, or have solidly withstood the ravages of time, as the famous gigantic palace of Diocletian at Split. The pagan Slavs soon experienced the impact of medieval Christian culture both from the Western and Eastern Roman Empires, later differentiated into the Western Catholic world, which moulded the Slovenes and the Croats, and the Byzantine Orthodox world to which belonged the Serbs. Neo-Manichaeism penetrated into the Balkans from the Near East in the ninth and tenth centuries and formed the basis of the Bogomil sect, which arose in Macedonia in the tenth century, infiltrated into Serbia in the twelfth century and into Bosnia, where they were known as Patarenos. Moslem culture, which came in with the Turkish domination from the fourteenth century, has left deep traces and particularly in Bosnia and Macedonia (see p. 218). Finally, the peoples of Yugoslavia have also been influenced by the rationalistic, scientific outlook, gaining ground in Europe since the sixteenth century and this has been progressively regarded as the source of enlightenment and emulation. Each of these cultures has produced its monuments and continues to play its part in Yugoslavia

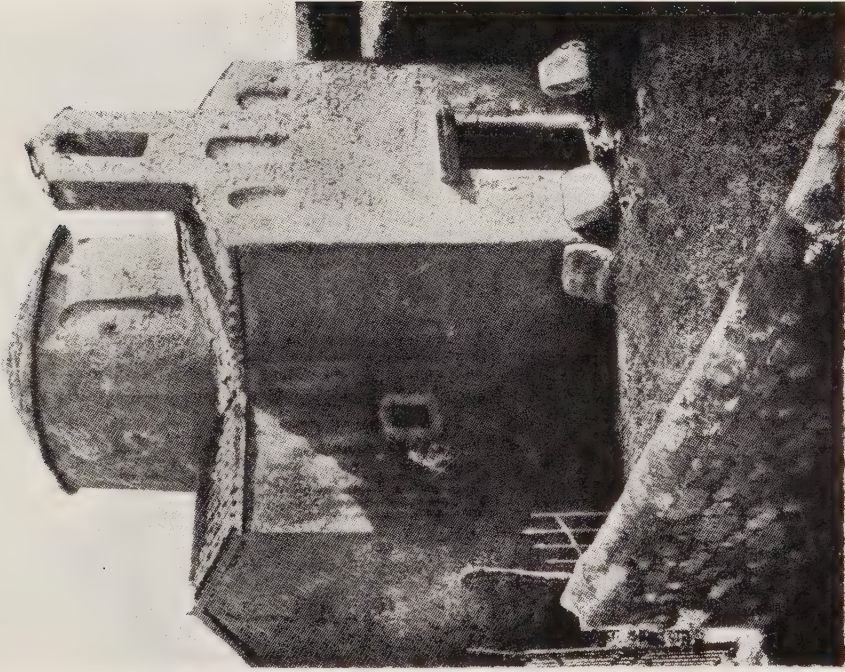


Plate 16. The church of the Holy Cross at Nin (Nona)
The church of the Holy Cross (Sv Križ) at Nin, on the Dalmatian coast, was built in the eighth century and is the oldest existing church in Jugoslavia.

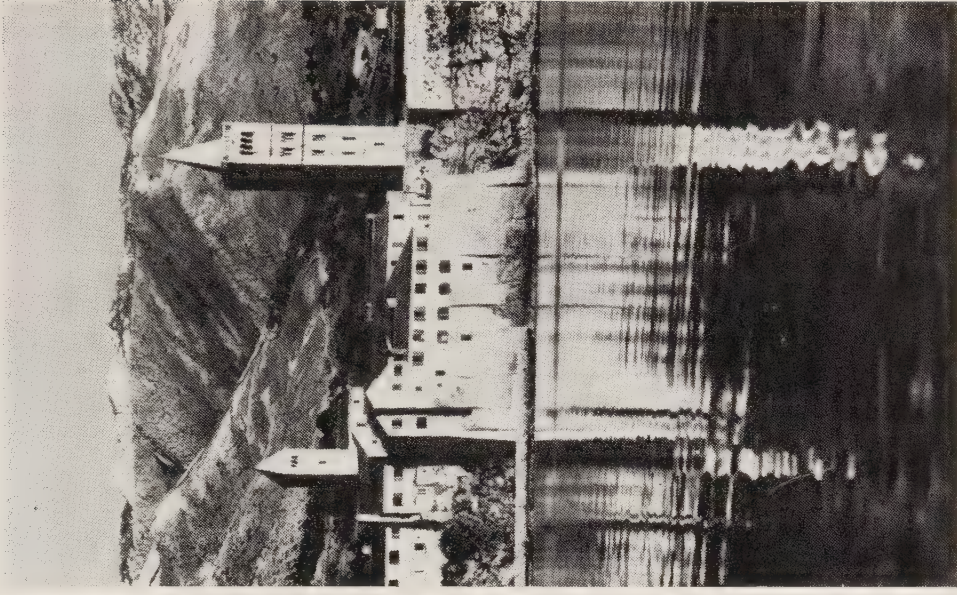


Plate 17. Rab
The town of Rab is dominated by four campaniles. The photograph shows the tower of the Cathedral of St Mary, built in the twelfth century (left), and the campanile of Sv Kristofor, built in the thirteenth century; both are in the Romanesque style.

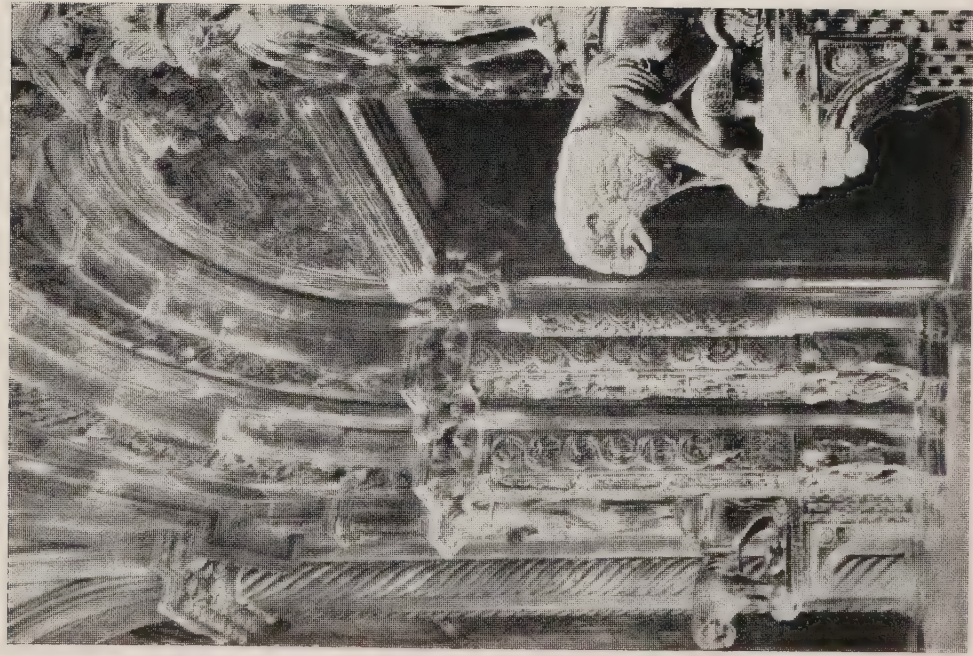


Plate 18. The west portal of Trogir cathedral

The first cathedral at Trogir was destroyed by the Saracens in the twelfth century. A new cathedral was begun in the thirteenth century; the Romanesque portal to the bell-tower by Radovan (1240) is one of the finest in existence. The sculpture above the doorway shows many scenes from the life of Christ; on each side there are statues of Adam and Eve standing on a lion and lioness respectively; the columns depict scenes from human and animal life.

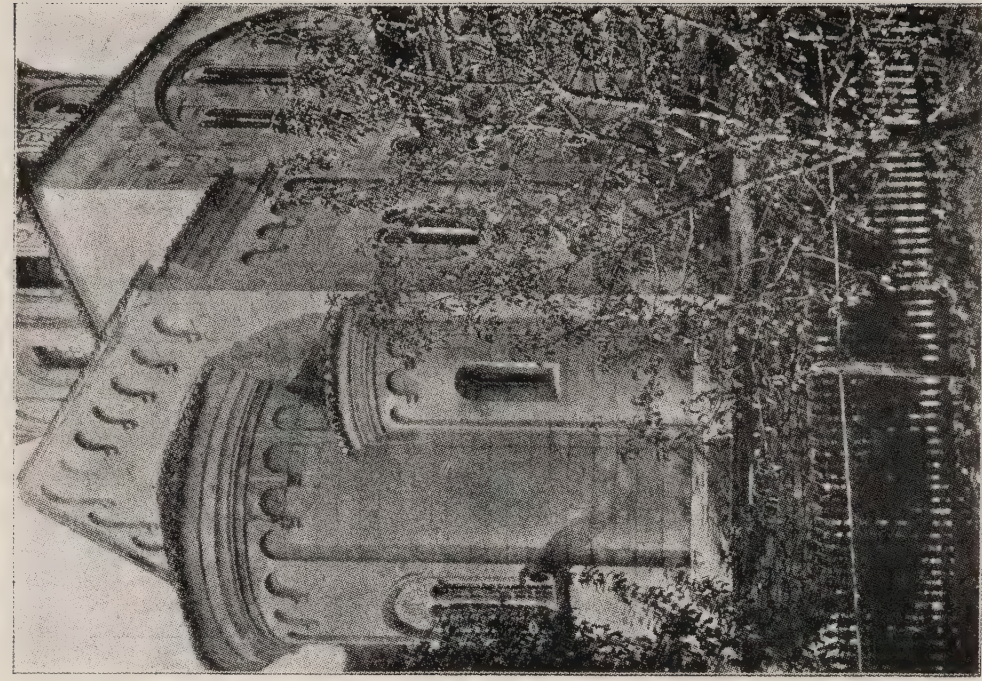


Plate 19. The church at Studenica

The church at Studenica, some eight miles south of Ušće, was erected in 1196 by Stephen Nemanja, who intended it to be his burial place. The church is of white polished marble; its lantern dome with panels and windows shows Byzantine influence but its arcaded cornices, windows, doorway and apse are Romanesque. From this fusion of Byzantine and Romanesque features was evolved the Raška type of architecture. The photograph shows the east wall of the apse and its three-light window surrounded by an arch with scroll-work.

either superimposed by, interpenetrated with, or existing independently and parallel to the other cultures.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

Slovenia and Croatia

The Slovenes, under foreign domination, were unable to make any original contribution to the culture of medieval Europe.

The Croats, however, converted to Christianity in the eighth century and enjoying an independence which lasted for two and a half centuries, greatly contributed to the development of art on the Dalmatian coast both in architecture and sculpture. Since the Dalmatian cities on the coast and the islands were a stronghold of Roman Christendom, it is natural that the rulers who encouraged works of art, and the artists and craftsmen who executed them, should look to the West rather than to Byzantium for inspiration. Dalmatian architecture, whether built by Latin or Slav, is Romanesque and not Byzantine. True, there are traces of Byzantine work and inspiration, such as the two little churches at Nin (Nona), the church of St Luke at Kotor (Cattaro) and of St Spiridion next to it; the *collegiata* at Kotor resembles St Luke's; St Barbara's at Trogir is Byzantine; the *baldacchino* at Rab and the *duomo* of Krk (Veglia) have Byzantine characteristics. But that is all.

Most traces of Byzantine art disappeared by the eleventh century, and all the art on the Dalmatian coast was Romanesque until it passed into Venetian Gothic in the fourteenth century. Nor is this Romanesque an imitation of the art of Italy; it reveals a development in plan and architectural composition. The buildings are for the most part small. The most ancient and the most important is the church of the Holy Cross near Nin, the main political and ecclesiastical centre of the Croats (Plate 16). It is in the shape of a cross with a cupola in the centre. No less interesting are the churches of St Nicholas at Nin and of St Grizogono at Krk built on a trefoil plan. The Croats also built the churches of St Peter at Priko near Omiš, of St Nicholas at Selce and of St Nicholas at Split, all on a rectangular plan divided into three bays of which the middle one has a cupola; the church of St George at Ravanjska, the foundations of a chapel in Biskupija, St Peter's at Rižiniče, founded about the middle of the ninth century, are all rounded off towards the east by a semi-circular apse.

There are other variations in this period: St Luke's at Uzdolje,

divided by four pilasters in four bays, has an apse as large as the nave; St Donat's at Krk has lateral semi-circular apses, whereas the apse of the sacrarium is rectangular; the foundations of St Peter's at Solin, where the Croat king, Zvonimir, was probably crowned in 1076 (see p. 15) show the combination of a circle set into a rectangle; the Holy Trinity at Split and St Ursula's at Zadar (Zara) are flanked by apses, the first by six, the second by five. St Peter's, Zadar, has nine naves and the church of St Laurence and St Nedelja, Zadar, have an arrangement of basilicas with three vaulted naves at a time when the principal nave in western Europe was usually covered by a framework of timber.

In the twelfth century the Croats lost their independence, but the development of art in Dalmatia was not interrupted. Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Split and Zadar grew rich in monuments. All along the coast there are fine Roman campaniles and there are few in the world finer than those of Rab and Split. The church of St Grizogono at Zadar was transformed into a basilica with three naves and Diocletian's mausoleum at Split was turned into a cathedral. In 1214 a Croat, Buvina, executed the beautiful wooden door of the cathedral at Split—one of the masterpieces of Romanesque art in Yugoslavia. But it is Trogir cathedral which is the glory of Dalmatian architecture. The western portal, which Radovan sculptured in 1240, is one of the finest Romanesque portals in the world. The delicacy of the sculpture on its columns is unsurpassed. The fourteenth-century Franciscan cloisters in Dubrovnik and those on Korčula are of great beauty and stand comparison with any others in Europe.

When the Dalmatian coast fell under Venetian control, art did not suffer. In the first half of the fifteenth century Šibenik cathedral was built in Venetian Gothic and was the starting point of a whole series of churches and palaces in that style. But, with the advance of the Turks, wars and invasions put a stop to this artistic activity. In the seventeenth century there was sufficient artistic vitality in Dubrovnik to rebuild the magnificent cathedral in baroque style and so repair the ravages of the earthquake of 1677 (see p. 40).

The origins of Yugoslav sculpture go back to the work of those sculptors who decorated the churches and cathedrals of the Dalmatian coast with stone carvings of great delicacy and variety. In the tenth and eleventh centuries decorative ornamentation was customary. The portals, consoles and fonts are covered with carvings of stylized geometrical figures. The origins of such designs are obscure; possibly they must be sought in the East or in the vanished

wooden carvings of the pagan Slavs. From the eleventh century, figures and leaf and floral motifs began to appear, and at first they are stylized and grotesque.

The most fertile period of sculpture, however, was the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and this has been expressed in the western portal and the windows of the church of the Virgin at Studenica, the monumental portal of the cathedral at Split with sculptures in wood, the great western portal at Trogir, the capitals of the Franciscan cloister at Dubrovnik, the ciborium at Kotor, the choir stalls at Split and Rab, the portal at Dečani, the statue of St Clement and the pulpit at Ohrid and in the carvings of hundreds of churches and secular buildings. These all prove the wealth of medieval Yugoslav sculpture, and it is not inferior to the sculpture in western Europe of the same period. The Venetian domination of the Dalmatian coast tended to frustrate any original Slav sculptural development, and although sculpture continued, it became more and more identified with the Italian. Thus the many examples of medieval architecture and sculpture surviving to this day all along the Dalmatian coast are recognized as a distinct contribution of the Croats to the cultural heritage of medieval Europe.

Serbia

The Serbs, independent later than the Slovenes or the Croats, but developing into a powerful medieval state which lasted for three centuries, had a rich civilization. The original contribution of their ecclesiastical culture to medieval Europe was in church architecture and fresco painting, as well as in a medieval Slavonic written literature. Not only on the Adriatic coast, but also in the Ibar valley, in Skoplje, in the neighbourhood of Skadar (Scutari), on Lake Ohrid and in many places in central and western Serbia there are proofs of the high standard of medieval Serbian culture, equal to that found elsewhere in Europe, but either checked in its development or destroyed when the Turks devastated the country and severed it from Europe. The Serbs turned to Byzantium for their inspiration and their art is consequently Byzantine. But the Serbs were not mere copyists; they absorbed the Byzantine tradition and created new types which in scope and inspiration surpass the art achieved at that time by any of the Balkan peoples. Towards the end of the tenth century and during the eleventh century, the rulers of Zeta, Travunija and Hum began to build churches. The oldest are Our Lady of Krajina founded by the ruler Vladimir (d. 1015);

the monasteries of St Peter at Trebinje, SS. Sergius and Bacchus on the Bojana river and the church of Our Lady at Kotor.

With the creation of the Serbian state of Raška in the twelfth century, Serbian architecture developed rapidly. During three centuries of independence the Serb rulers, from the time of Stephen Nemanja to the Turkish subjection, built and restored over 1,500 churches and monasteries. Each ruler regarded it as his spiritual duty, his debt to God (*zadužbina*) to build and endow a church where his mortal remains would rest. Stephen Nemanja founded two monasteries of brick and stone near Kuršumlija, on the Toplica, two monasteries at Deševo now in ruins, and a monastery in stone called Djurdjevi Stupovi, but the main architectural work of his reign is the admirably preserved Studenica (completed about 1191) in polished marble. It is known as the Raška type of architecture, for it is an original combination of Byzantine architecture with Dalmatian Romanesque. Among the twelfth-century churches mention must be made of Nemanja's church of Our Lady at Bistrica and of the SS. Peter and Paul at Bielopolje, built by Nemanja's brother Miroslav. Thirteenth-century architecture is represented by the archiepiscopal church at Žiča built by Stephen the First-Crowned and his great brother St Sava. Here the Studenica type was evolving; the façades are covered with a coating of crimson plaster. St Sava was also responsible for the episcopal church of Our Lady at Hvosno, built in the same style. King Vladislav, his nephew, built the large church of Mileševo which later became a great centre of pilgrimage, for St Sava's tomb was there. St Sava's successor, the Archbishop Arsenije, built the archiepiscopal church of Peć. Morača (1252) built by Nemanja's grandson Stephen is in the Žiča tradition; Sopoćani, built by Uroš between 1243 and 1276, shows a noticeable simplification. Helen of Anjou, the wife of Uroš, built the church at Gradac; it is of the Žiča type and is influenced by Gothic. Her grandson Dragutin (1276–81) rebuilt the monastery of Arilje.

When the Serbian state was considerably expanded at the expense of Byzantine territory in the fourteenth century under the Nemanjid dynasty (see p. 86), Serbian architecture not unnaturally came more under Byzantine influence. The most outstanding examples are at Banjska, the monastery at Dečani, and the church and chapel of the Holy Archangel near Prizren; all these three are of polished marble. Many monasteries were built and restored; among them was the reconstructed monastery of Hilendar on Mount Athos, originally built on old foundations by Stephen Nemanja and his



Plate 20. The church of Sv Klimentije at Ohrid

Built in 1295 on the foundations of a tenth century church, the church of Sv Klimentije is constructed of bricks arranged ornamentally; it is in the shape of a Greek cross with one cupola, and Byzantine influence is predominant.



Plate 21. The monastery church at Žiča

The archiepiscopal church at Žiča, about four miles south-west of Kraljevo, was founded by Stephen the First-Crowned and St Sava in 1202. The ornamentation is of marble, the windows and the seven doors being particularly noteworthy. The central dome and all the roofs are modern.



Plate 22. The patriarchate at Peć

The church of the Ascension at Peć was built in the early thirteenth century by the archbishop Arsenije I, the successor of St Sava, when Žiča was threatened by Tartar raids (see p. 83). Two other churches were built nearby in the fourteenth century. Peć was the seat of a patriarch from 1346 until the eighteenth century.

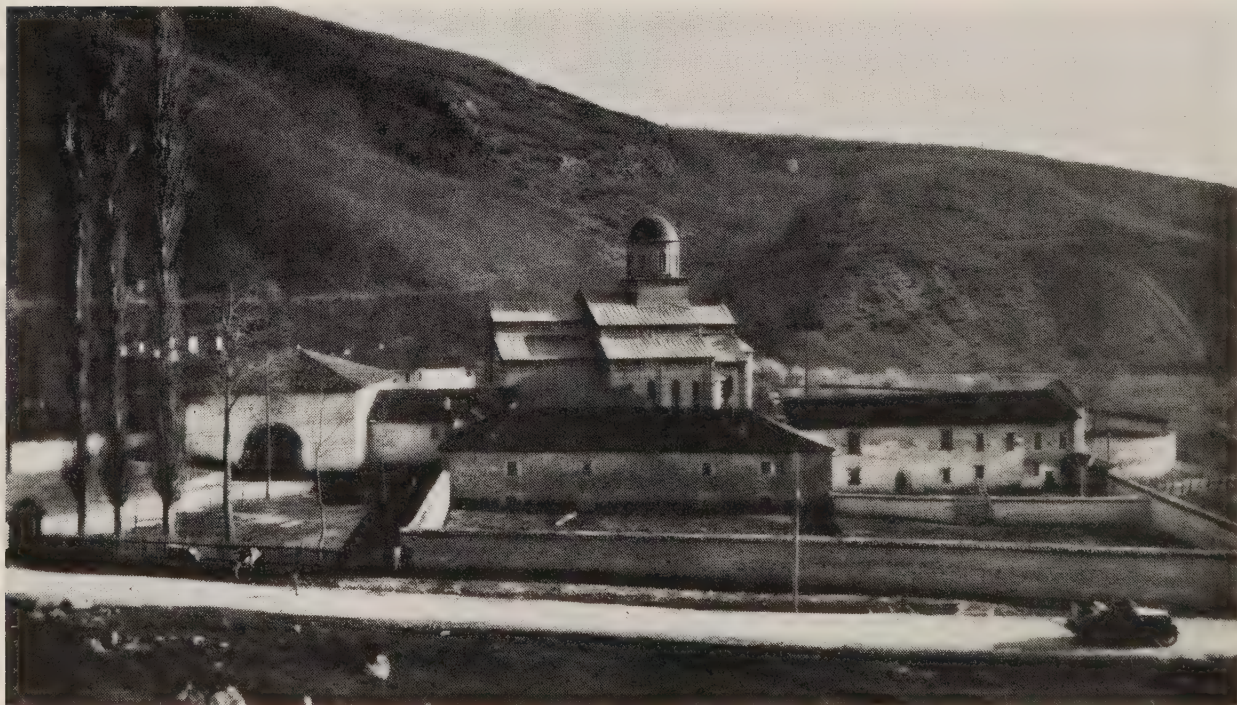


Plate 23. The monastery church of Visoki Dečani

The monastery of Visoki Dečani, near Peć, in the Bistrica valley, was founded by Stephen Uroš III in 1327 and built to the designs of Vitalis, a Franciscan of Kotor. The building has many excellent examples of Dalmatian Romanesque architecture, but it also has many Byzantine features. Two different alternating polished marbles, white and red, have been used as building material. The church contains the tomb of its founder.

saintly son. The Nemanjid dynasty is also responsible for the masterpiece at Gračanica, for the church of Our Lady of Leviša at Prizren, for St George at Staro Nagoričino and finally for Studenica, the first in rank among the royal monasteries, and containing Nemanja's white marble tomb.

Stephen Dušan spared nothing to complete Dečani, begun by his father, and he also founded the monastery of the Holy Archangel at Prizren, while his nobles imitated his good example by vying with each other in endowing monasteries, the finest of which are the monastery at Psača (circa 1358). St Naum's at Ohrid (1361) and a church at Konce near Radovište (1369). Another church of the Holy Archangel was built by King Marko at Prilep, his capital. His brother Andrew founded St Andrew's monastery on the Treska in 1389. From outside it appears to be in the form of a cross, whereas inside it is built on the trefoil plan.

With the transfer of the political centre north to Kruševac, decadence did not set in after the dismemberment of the Serbian state. There was instead a new development, and two main types emerged. The first is represented by the monastery of Ravanica (1381) near Čuprija—it is Prince Lazar's main work and contains a church with five cupolas; Manasija (1406–18) inside a fortress on the Resava in the Morava valley, one of the most picturesque monuments in Serbia; Pavlica (circa 1397) on the right bank of the Ibar; and Ljubostinja (circa 1402–6). The second type is represented by the Lazarica Church at Kruševac (circa 1308) and the church at Kalenić (circa 1413). The Lazarica's influence is felt in the churches at Velučje (circa 1395) and at Rudenica; while the architecture of the churches at Sisojevac and at Poganovo is simpler.

After the Turkish invasion, several monasteries were built in Fruška Gora, but they are inferior to those of the Golden Age of Serbian architecture. With the Turkish conquest the development of Serbian ecclesiastical architecture was broken.

PAINTING

The period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries was also the Golden Age of Serbian medieval painting which is essentially religious. In the Orthodox Serbian churches, which are usually small and often less than one hundred cubic metres, mosaic is unusual and there is little use of sculpture, since the Orthodox Church frowned upon the sculptural representation of the human

form. There is, instead, a surprising wealth of mural painting. From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, more than ten thousand frescoes are known to have been painted, and many of them survive to this day. The whole of the interior and sometimes also the exterior of the churches are covered with paintings in the fresco technique of the time. These paintings are an important part of the church; they form an encyclopaedia of Christianity, a devout expression of prayer and part of the ritual. They represent the main events from the Bible, from the lives of the saints, from the history of the Church and the nation. They are not painted without a system: the principles applied are constant from the eleventh century. The central dome and the Bema represent the heavens and show Christ, the Archangels, Prophets and Apostles, the Theotokos Orans or with the Divine Child, the preparation of the Throne for the Second Coming, the priestly forerunners of Christ and the bishops of the Church, the Evangelists on the pendentives of the dome, joining heaven and earth, scenes from the Old Testament prefiguring the sacrifice of the New Testament, the Twelve Feasts of the Church (New Testament scenes of Christ and His Mother) and finally, the portraits of donors and princes, now relegated to the narthex. These paintings are great art; they represent Neo-Hellenic influence and the paintings of the Graeco-Slavonic School. Few realize that before the days of Giotto and El Greco these mural church paintings in Serbia had been painted, often anonymously, by masters whose work was bold and inspired, impressionistic, realistic and dramatic, and an astonishment to all who discover them.

LEARNING

The monasteries and churches were not only centres of art, but also centres of learning. The medieval Serbo-Croat written literature emanates from them. In the seventh century Christianity came to the Slavs from Rome, hence Latin was the first liturgical language and it was written in the Roman script. In the ninth century Christianity came to the Serbs from Byzantium. A Macedonian Slavonic dialect was used as the liturgical language of the Christianized Slavs (see p. 208); the first liturgical script for this was Glagolitic, based on Greek cursive and devised probably by Cyril for the translation of biblical and liturgical books. Since Rome also permitted the use of Slavonic as a liturgical language, this Old Church

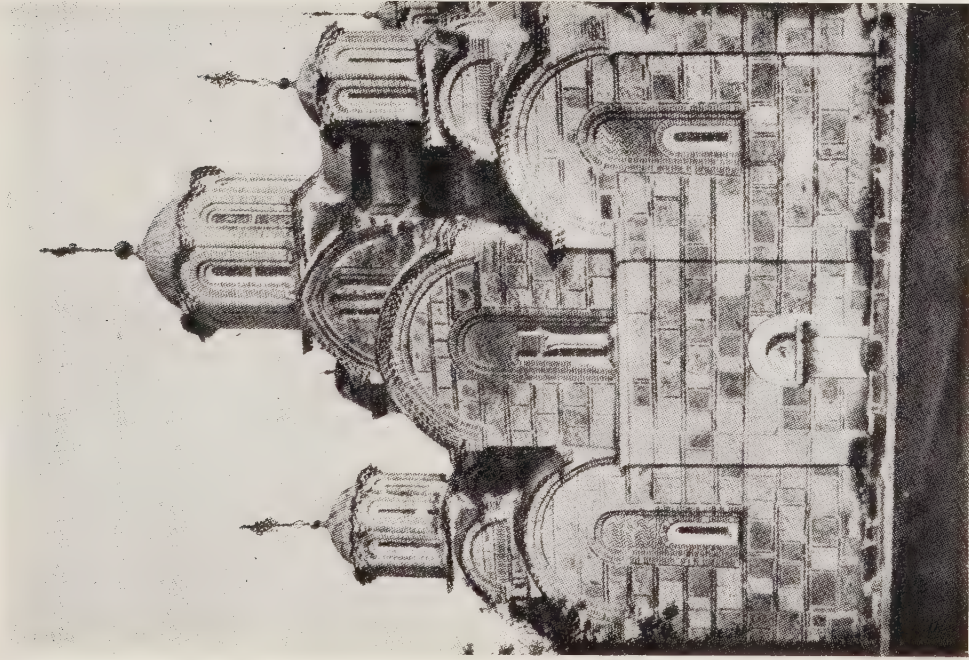


Plate 24. The church of Gračanica

The church of Gračanica, on the plain of Kosovo, was founded in 1321 by Stephen Uroš II (Milutin). Its massive proportions and ornamentation make it unique among the churches of Serbia. The walls are of squared masonry, but the arches and window casings are of brickwork.

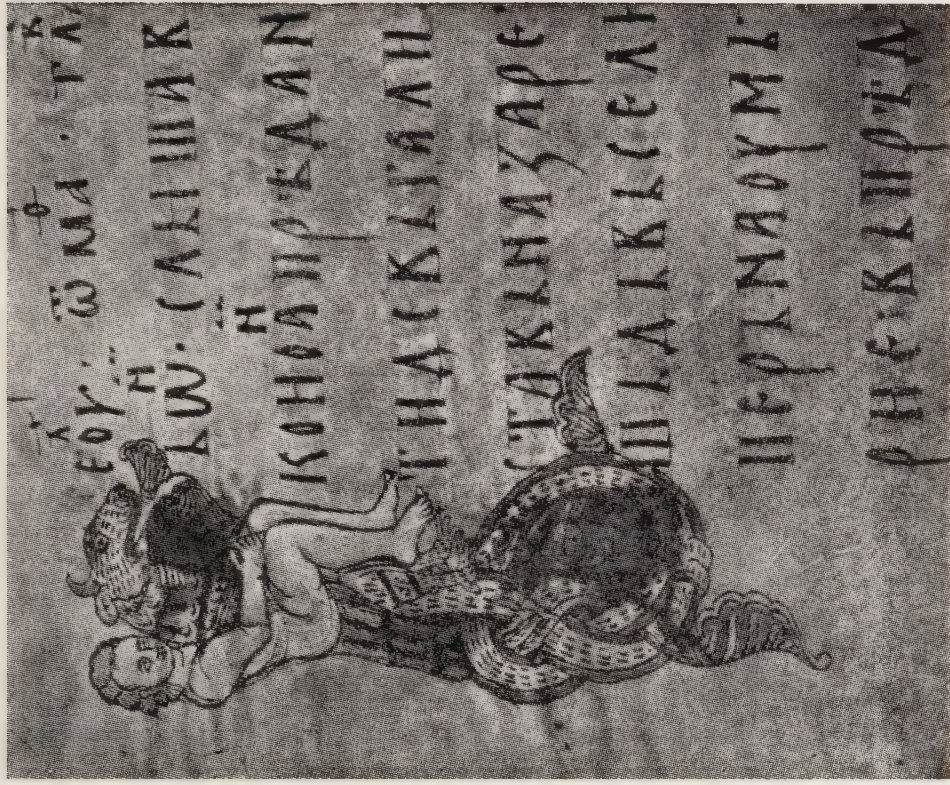


Plate 25. The *Miroslav Gospel*

Detail from the twelfth century manuscript of the *Miroslav Gospel*.

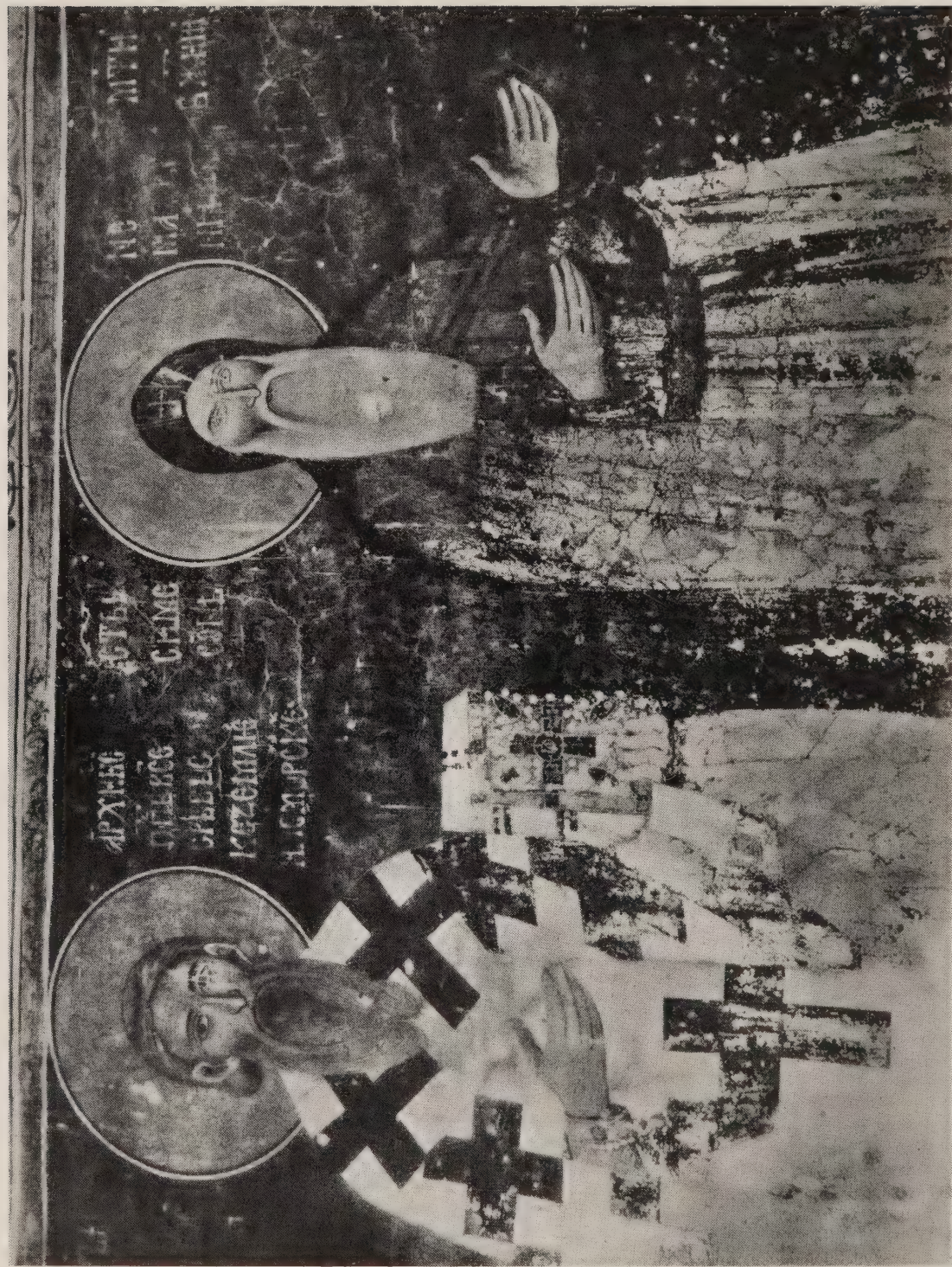


Plate 26. Fresco of Stephen Nemanja and St Sava at Studenica
The interior of the church at Studenica is decorated with early thirteenth century frescoes portraying members of the Nemanjid dynasty.

Slavonic written down in Glagolitic was used by Christians, whether under the Eastern or Western jurisdiction. In the course of time the language of the church books differentiated among the Southern and Eastern Slavs so that there are Russian, Serbian, Croatian, and Old Church Slavonic recensions in this alphabet. The first books, naturally church books, were all in Glagolitic script and thus the Serbs and the Croats at first had a common translated literature. It is now maintained that the Cyrillic script was introduced after the Glagolitic among the Serbs, Bulgarians and Russians. It was this script that became the 'official' alphabet of the Orthodox Church and, consequently, of the Orthodox regions.

Croatia

The Glagolitic script survived among the Croats and as a liturgical script in northern Dalmatia (see p. 209). The Catholic liturgy in Slavonic was intermittently persecuted by the Roman Catholic Church; and Latin, therefore, played an ever greater rôle among Croats as a literary medium and the Roman or Latin script was introduced for Croatian. There was produced, however, a considerable body of translated literature in Glagolitic in Croatia, such as the Gospels, the Apocrypha, legends of saints, the rule of St Benedict, that of the Franciscan Order and a novel about Alexander the Great. But by the fourteenth century, the script gradually ceased to be used among the Croats, except in some church service books. The Latin alphabet, which ousted the Glagolitic among the Catholic Croats, separated them from the literary world common to the Serbs, Bulgarians and Russians—the Orthodox Slavs—until the eighteenth century. The use of these different alphabets for the same language has greatly contributed to the creation of the two separate literary traditions, the Serb and the Croat, which only begin to merge again in modern Yugoslavia.

Serbia

It is the Serbs who had the richest medieval literature of all the Slavs and who played the rôle of cultural propagators. They produced a body of translations from the Greek, mostly ecclesiastical, but also of secular character. Many of these manuscripts translated or copied by Serb monks travelled to Bulgaria and through Bulgaria reached Kievan Russia; they proved to be an inestimable cultural service to the Russians which was to be richly repaid centuries later. In medieval Serbia all the major and many of the minor works of

Byzantine literature and the wealth of Early Christian and Eastern Christian literature were translated into 'Serbian' Old Church Slavonic in the Cyrillic script (see p. 209). Moreover, the Byzantine chroniclers, the canon law of Photius, Justinian's Code, romances such as the story of the Trojan War, Barlaam and Josaphat, and even French medieval literature, are all known in translation. But important though translations from the Greek be, it is the original Serb literature that is of the greatest value. Of particular value are the Serb medieval biographies of their kings, archbishops and saints. There is nothing like it in the literature of the other Slavs of the time. The biography of Stephen Nemanja, written by St Sava his son, is the first biography to be written by a Serb. It forms but a chapter in the monastic rule which St Sava composed for his monks at Studenica. A modest little work, it is a beautiful piece of solemn prose that tells the story of Nemanja's life very simply, rising at times to dramatic heights. It is the expression of filial piety and of that wisdom he found in religious inspiration on Mount Athos and which he applied in the organization of monastic life in the Serbian medieval state, which owes so much to its founder, Stephen Nemanja, and to its ablest statesman and first archbishop, St Sava.

There are three other biographies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; one of Stephen Nemanja written by his other son Stefan, and two of St Sava; one by Domentian (1243) and the other by Teodosije, probably of the fourteenth century. The writing of the lives of the saints was considerably developed by the Serbs, whose spiritual ideals can be seen from the many manuscript copies of martyrologies: the ascetic recluse, the failure who suffers, the patience of a blind prince, the faithfulness of a widow, the ruler with no one to rule, are drawn from their history as revered examples. In the fourteenth century the only known biographer is Archbishop Danilo; he wrote the lives of Serbian kings and archbishops, and his work is an important historical source.

Codices and chronicles were written from the eleventh century. The most famous juridical monument is Stephen Dušan's *Zakonik*, which was accepted in 1349, and in 1354. It established the authority of law, put an end to arbitrary rule, for the ruler himself submitted to the code, and gives us an insight into the degree of medieval civilization among the Serbs. The chronicles are divided into 'Letopisi', short chronicles, 'Rodoslovi', mainly genealogies, and 'Hronografi', general chronicles of Roman, Byzantine and Hebrew history.

Most of this medieval literature was produced in the monasteries, written on parchment with a goose quill. Some have elaborate capital letters in red, some are illuminated, some were specially ordered for kings or high dignitaries, the patrons of letters. The rulers of the Serb medieval state are known to have had libraries of manuscripts. Of these manuscripts, the finest and earliest is the Miroslav Gospel, attributed to the twelfth century (Plate 25).

Serbia in the Middle Ages was fully part of Europe and a bridge between Byzantium and the Orient on the one hand, and Rome and Western Europe on the other. This period of Serbian culture ends with the Turkish conquest when Serbia was cut from cultural contacts with the rest of the world. But this monastic culture was not in vain: for 500 years in the seclusion of the monasteries the memory and practice of Serbia's medieval achievement were cherished and grew into a tradition which passed orally to the people in the cult of a national epic poetry.

THE JUGOSLAV ORAL TRADITION

GENERAL FEATURES

A rich oral tradition has been for centuries a special feature of the culture of the Yugoslavs. For the last hundred years it has been rapidly yielding to the pressure of modern influences owing to the inevitable impact with Western European ideas. Already it has disappeared in the towns, together with the national costume. With the spread of education, the final liquidation of illiteracy, the growing influence of the newspaper, radio, cinema, urbanization and industrialism, it is doomed eventually to disappear. Meanwhile, since the majority of the population are peasants, the oral tradition is perceptible as soon as one leaves the towns, whereas in remote regions along the periphery and away from the main centres of civilization, and therefore more inaccessible and refractory to the encroaching process of modernization, traditional life strongly persists and the oral tradition is still active.

Folk-magic expressed in formulae is used particularly in healing ritual and as a potent force for good or evil in every aspect of human activity, such as fishing, hunting, bee-keeping, cattle breeding, warfare, birth, marriage and death (see p. 288). In these beliefs and formulae Christian, Moslem and pagan elements are inextricably interwoven, and parallel formulae can be found among the other Slav peoples, thus making the question of origins obscure.

This oral tradition is further expressed anonymously in folk tale and poetry, which, though now mostly collected and printed, have not yet become literature, something invented or recorded and considered as apart from everyday life. Folk-poetry can be conveniently divided into lyrics and epic poetry.

LYRICS

The lyrics are known as women's songs—*ženske pesme*—though they need not necessarily be sung by women. They vary in metre and length, though they are mostly short, and their themes poetically reflect many subjects. They are sung to a variety of beautiful folk-tunes, but they are unaccompanied by any instrument; they are sung at work and at play—for the Yugoslav lives his poetry—whenever men are gathered together, at a *slava* (see p. 288), round a camp fire, at harvesting, at food or drink, or when dancing the *kolo* (see p. 262), when women are spinning or rocking a cradle, when they are thinking of a beloved, or visiting a grave, or lamenting the dead. Special mention should be made of the Bosnian love songs called *sevdalinke* and the *dert* love songs of Vranje and the propitiatory songs—the *dodolske* and the *kraljičke*. All these are delightful, naïve and sincere in sentiment, unexpectedly fresh in imagery and touchingly simple, but most of them lose their beauty in translation and in the original they do not surpass the lyrical folk-songs of other peoples in Europe.

EPIC POETRY

General Features

The Yugoslav epic poems (*narodne pesme*)—and the Serbian in particular—are the great glory of the Yugoslav oral tradition. It is the most characteristic expression of the creative genius of the people, it is their pride, the dynamic source of their hope, and their instigation to collective action in historical moments, such as in their fight for liberation, be it from the Turk or from the German. There is not a Yugoslav, literate or illiterate, who does not know the historical or legendary heroes of the *narodne pesme*; these are the history book of the people, an example to follow and one of the greatest moulding influences. A study of the national epic poetry which the Yugoslavs have created is the surest way to understand their mentality and spiritual outlook.

This narrative poetry based on historic events is mainly the



Plate 27. Detail from the fresco of the Nativity of the Virgin at Nerezi
The small monastery of Nerezi, four miles north-west of Skoplje, was built in the twelfth century and its frescoes, which have only recently been uncovered, are among the oldest art treasures of Yugoslavia.



Plate 28. The *Oktoikh*

The first page of the *Oktoikh*, the first Serbian printed book (1494).

creation of the Serbs. The Slovenes historically have had no material for national epic poetry; though they have produced many beautiful lyric traditional songs, they have few popular ballads and most of these are short and rarely more than two hundred lines long. The Croatian heroic ballads glorify for the most part not Croat, but Serb national heroes. Nevertheless, it should be noted that although it is generally known that the *narodne pesme* are a special creation of the Serb national oral tradition and that there are none finer, yet owing to their popularity and their living creative power, they are regarded as the joint property of all the Yugoslavs.

The epic songs—the *muške* ('men's') or *junačke* ('heroic') *pesme*—exist in two forms: the *bugarštice* and the *guslarske*.

Bugarštice

The term *bugarštice* is perhaps derived from either a word meaning 'to sing', or from a word meaning 'to spoil', 'to pollute' or 'to rot'; in this sense the latter is used to-day only for crops, but originally in Macedonia it meant 'spoilt' or 'debased in language under the influence of Bulgarian'. The *bugarštice* are considered to belong to an older period than the *guslarske*; the events they deal with are never later than the seventeenth century, but otherwise their subjects are the same as in the *guslarske*. There are only some hundred *bugarštice* known; they were written down in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only in the western part of the country and then almost entirely in Dalmatia. They have now disappeared.

Guslarske

The *guslarske* ballads and their variants have been collected in their thousands, and the metre—a line of ten syllables with a pause after the fourth—has not varied for more than two centuries. The number of variants show that improvisation rather than static memorization is a faculty cultivated by Yugoslav *guslars*, or bards.

These remarkable ballads, generally considered by experts to be the finest ballad poetry in Europe and not more widely known only because Serbo-Croat is so little studied, are recited to the accompaniment of a *gusle*, a primitive single stringed fiddle with a deeply rounded body made of maple. The Yugoslav Moslems use a tambura, a kind of mandoline with two metal strings. The bridge of the *gusle* rests on a piece of taut vellum. The neck of the instrument is elaborately carved with the figures of the ballad heroes or with the

heads of animals. The bow is shaped like a curved snake and is strung with horsehair. The guslar sits, holding the gusle body downwards like a violoncello. He closes his eyes, he fingers quickly and deftly, then for an introduction he draws his bow to and fro across the string, producing a harsh grating sound which arrests the attention. A series of eerie sounds, like a plaintive wail, has a hypnotic effect on the listeners. Then a pause, after which the guslar plunges into his rapid recitative, his voice pausing every four or five lines, although the *narodne pesme* are not broken up into stanzas. But it is not the chanting that is the main interest, but the glorifying of men's deeds.

The *guslarske narodne pesme* can be divided into non-historical and historical poems.

Non-historical poems

Among the non-historical 'The Wife of Hassan Aga', the first to become known in translation in Western Europe (in Italian in 1774, in German in 1789) is one of the most moving. It is a tragic story based on the life of the Moslem Serbs. Hassan Aga's faithful wife is too shy to visit him when he is wounded after battle for fear of meeting another man on the way. He avenges himself by divorcing her, sends her back to her mother and separates her from her five children. Her brother promptly arranges to wed her to the great Cadi of Imoske. Broken-hearted and on her way to her new home, she is allowed the favour to stop and give gifts to her orphan children. The infuriated Hassan again misjudges the poor woman: 'Hither, my children, motherless! And from her stand apart! Pity and mercy has she none within her stony heart'. Unable to bear this cruelty she fell on the ground 'and her soul departed as she saw her children motherless'.

Another popular *pesma*, 'Predrag and Nenad' ('The most dear and the unexpected one'), is the same story as Malory's 'Balin and Balan' repeated by Tennyson. It is the tragedy of one warrior brother going out to seek another. Three times he meets his brother's men—a symbolic testing of the spirit. To the first two groups he appeals with reason and passes unhurt, but the third attacks him and in self-defence he fights. His brother sends an arrow through his heart. Dying he reveals his identity: in remorse his brother stabs himself, 'Down brother fell by brother, the dead lay with the dead'.

Historical Cycles

The historical *pesme* are divided into cycles which give a vivid history of the Serbs from the twelfth century to the present day. Three of the main and best known cycles are described below.

The Nemanjid Cycle contains *pesme* about Stephen Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian medieval state, about his son St Sava (these are considered to be of literary or written origin) and about the strong Stephen Dušan, about Uroš and the Mrnjavčevići—Vukašin, Uglješa and the unhistorical Gojko—who all illegally claimed the throne. In one of the *pesme*, Vukašin's son Marko judges that Uroš is the lawful heir. Marko escapes his father by seeking sanctuary in a church. Vukašin stabs at the wooden door. Blood rushes from it. He thinks he has killed his son, but a voice from the church says that an angel of the Lord has been slain. Vukašin then curses Marko, but Uroš blesses him: 'Be thy name renowned everywhere while sun and moon endure'. And so it was, for Marko, the most popular hero in the *pesme*, has a cycle to himself.

The Marriage of King Vukašin gives a lurid picture of the social conditions of the period, of its cruelty and courage. Vukašin, a contemporary of Stephen Dušan, woos Vidosava in a letter and begs her to poison or betray her husband, Momčilo. She falls to the temptation: at her suggestion Vukašin comes to slay Momčilo when he is out hunting. She helps Vukašin by singeing her husband's winged horse, by sealing fast his sword with salt blood, so that, helpless against his foe, Momčilo flees to his castle which is bolted and barred. His sister Jevrosima, tied by her hair to a beam, swung her head with all her strength so that all her hair was torn off and remained on the beam. She then threw Momčilo a length of linen cloth up which he scaled, but his wife with a sharp sword severed the linen sheet above his hand. He fell on swords and war spears, and King Vukašin pierced him through the living heart. The dying Momčilo warns the king to marry his sister Jevrosima rather than his own faithless wife. Vidosava welcomes the murderer in the castle and brings him Momčilo's armour and apparel. Its size and weight makes Vukašin realize that 'If to-day she betrays such a knight of prowess, whose match there is not in all the world, how should she not betray me to-morrow?' So he had Vidosava bound to the tails of horses. 'And the horses rent her living body asunder'. The king then married the fair Jevrosima who bore him a hero; his name was Marko Kraljević.

The Walling of Skutari is a cruel *pesma* in which a *vila*—a spirit who lives in wooded mountains and in rocky places round lakes and rivers—wrecks by night what the three brothers Vukašin, Uglješa and Gojko build by day. She demands a propitiatory sacrifice: whichever of the three wives next brings the masons' dinner must be walled into the tower's foundations that it may stand. The brothers pledge secrecy before God and swear to leave the victim to chance. Vukašin and Uglješa break their pledge to save their wives, but Gojko keeps his word. His unsuspecting wife leaves her babe and carries the dinner out of her turn to oblige her sisters. Gojko weeps at the sight of his wife, but cannot save her. She is walled in: 'and the slender girl laughs lightly, thinking haply they jest'. In a sudden agony of realization she begs that they leave a window for her eyes and one for her breast that she might see and feed her babe. They grant her prayer. After seven days, her voice was gone, but she suckled her babe for a year. The fortress held—the *vila* had been appeased, and 'yea, even to-day, the white milk flows, for a miracle most high and a healing draught for women, whereof the breasts are dry'.

The Kosovo Cycle, the most significant of all, unlike most of the other cycles, forms an organic whole consisting of many *pesme*. The legend of Kosovo has grown gradually. It was inspired by the belief that the Battle of Kosovo (1389) was the greatest tragedy the Serbs had had to face. It was the end of their medieval greatness, the end of their freedom for over five hundred years (see p. 89). The Kosovo *pesme* are Homeric in simplicity and in grandeur. Against overwhelming odds Stephen Lazar makes the choice not to accept Turkish vassaldom without fighting and this has become a prototype for the Serbian people whenever they are faced with a spiritual choice in historical moments:

'God of my fathers, what shall I do?
 If a heavenly empire, then must I lose
 All that is dearest to me upon earth;
 But if that the heavenly here I refuse,
 What then is the earthly worth?
 It is but a day, it passeth away,
 And the glory of earth full soon is o'er.
 But the glory of God is more and more.
 What is this world's renown?
 (His heart was heavy, his soul was stirred)
 Shall an earthly empire be preferred
 To an everlasting crown?'

His choice was made, the battle was a defeat, but it stands as a moral victory. And so Kosovo and all it symbolizes for the Yugoslavs has grown into a cult. Death and honour must be chosen rather than capitulation and a life of shame. In these *pesme* which are dramatic in intensity and charged with an inexorable doom, equalled only in Greek tragedy, all Lazar's people play a fittingly dignified and heroic part: the Tsarica Milica bravely parts with her lord and her nine brothers, none of whom put personal love before public duty; Miloš Obilić, slandered as a traitor, redeems his honour at the price of death by stabbing Lazar's enemy, the Sultan Murad; Goluban the servant, joins Lazar because it is more important to fight the enemy than to attend to the tragic Tsarica, and that same Goluban, wounded, later brings back to her news of defeat and gory details of the death of Lazar and all the heroes of Kosovo; the mother of the nine dead brothers Jugovići mourns in noble silence while the nine widows weep. She does not shed a single tear at the sight of their tears nor at the plaintive neighing of her sons' horses, but when she recognizes the severed hand that two coal-black ravens drop into her lap as being the hand of her beloved son Damian, she breaks her silence:

“O my hand, my fresh green apple,
Where didst thou grow, where werst thou plucked?
T'was on my breast that thou didst grow,
The plucking was on Kosovo.”
Speaking, she breathed her life away.’

The Maid of Kosovo has lost her betrothed in battle but with dignified, selfless tenderness she wanders among the dead on the battlefield, tends the wounded and relieves their suffering, while her own sorrow is such that if she were to touch a pine tree ‘young and green, it would dry up and shrivel’.

The Cycle of Kraljević Marko (Prince Marko) contains the largest number of *pesme* and is popular not only among the Serbs and Croats, but also with the Slovenes, Bulgarians, Turks and Albanians. Marko is the son of Vukašin, the king of Prilep, who was drowned with thousands of his Serbs when routed by the Turks. Marko became ruler of Prilep, but under Ottoman pressure in 1385 went over to the service of the Turks. Tradition says that he was killed at the Battle of Rovina in 1394. This hazy historical figure has become Serbia's grandest national hero in traditional poetry. He is the Serbian Hercules, dark-eyed, with a black moustache as large as

a lamb, his cloak is a wolfskin, his cap is pulled down to his eyebrows, he drinks, he brawls, he wins in fights. The Serbian people have attributed to Marko all their own good and bad qualities. He is essentially human. He is tender to his mother, yet he is cruel to his wife whom he forgets for nine years, but when he learns that another man has carried her off, he returns from the other end of the land, rescues her, only to abandon her again. He is crude, but he is noble; he is cruel, but he is just; his evil deeds he atones by good ones; he helps the weak and the poor against the strong and the tyrant. He abolished the oppressive marriage tax for all by killing the lord who extorted it; he even intimidates the all-powerful sultan. He observes the religious tradition of his people; he will not shed blood on his *slava*. He flees from his father so that the latter may not shed the blood of a son; he wants nothing for himself but would do anything for the people. He lives on the roads and in inns, he is of a piece with the Balkan landscape, his life, full and varied in the expenditure of boundless energy, is one long adventure against the Turk. But though so human, he is a man apart: he is in league with the *vile* and the dragons; he lives some three hundred years. His faithful companion is Šarac, the piebald horse who drinks half his wine. But death must come even to Marko. The *vila* warns him, he looks into a mountain well and sees in the water when he is to die. With his sabre he cut off Šarac's head so that it should not fall into the hands of the Turk. He buried his horse better than he had buried his own brother. He broke his sharp sword into four pieces, he broke his war spear into seven. His mace he cast from the mountain into the sea:

“When my mace shall come up out of the sea,
Another Marko shall appear upon earth.”

Then he wrote a letter which he fixed to a pine tree together with three purses of gold:

“One purse I give to him that findeth me
That he may bury my body.
Another purse I give for to adorn the churches,
The third I give to the maimed and the blind,
That the blind may go into all the world
To sing and to celebrate Marko.”

Then he lay down by the well and died. Whoever passed by made wide his path round about him for fear lest he should wake Marko, until the Abbot of the White Church Vilindar (Hilendar) on the

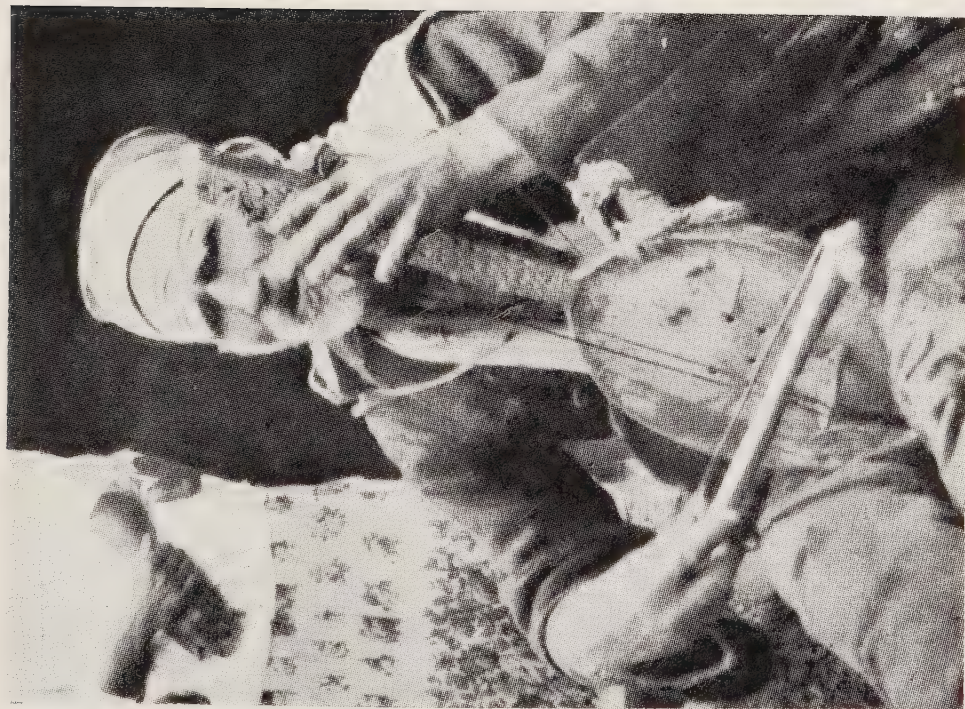


Plate 29. A *guslar*



Plate 30. Kraljević Marko

This plaster study of Kraljević Marko and his piebald horse, Šarac, was designed by Meštrović as a centre-piece for one of the halls in the Kosovo Temple (see pp. 307 and 315).

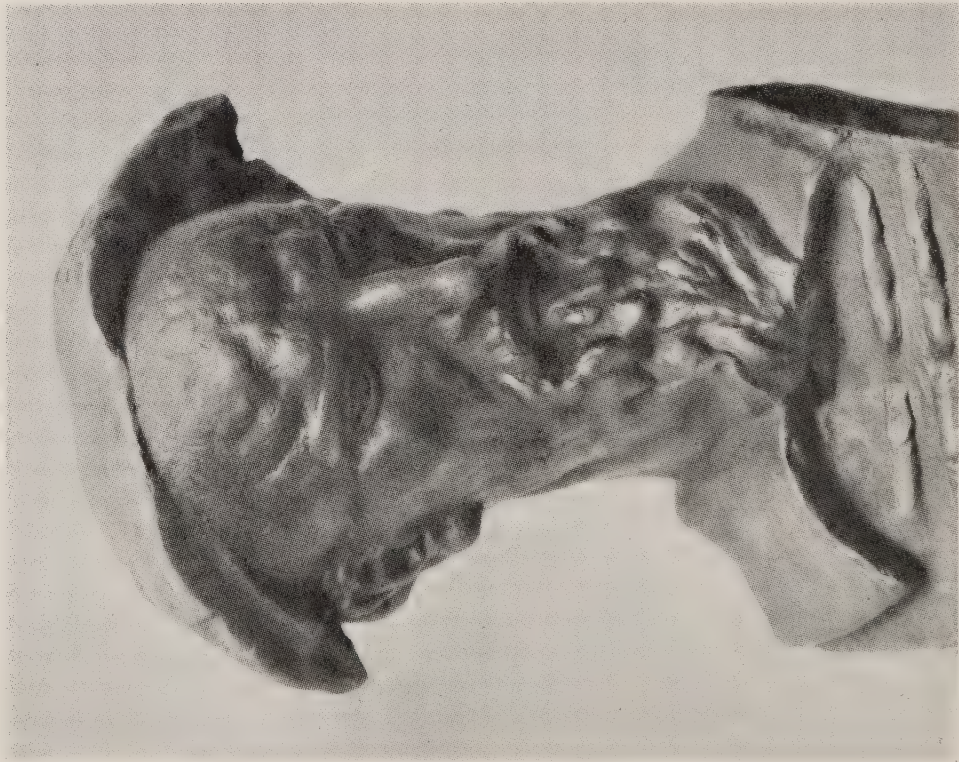


Plate 31. Marko Marulić

This study of the head of Marko Marulić (see p. 311) by Meštrović is in the Meštrović Gallery at Zagreb. The monument itself, completed in 1925, stands in the Narodni Trg at Split.



Plate 32. Bishop Strossmayer

Completed in 1926, the statue of Bishop Strossmayer by Meštrović is 10 ft. high and stands in Strossmajerov Trg at Zagreb, close to the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts founded by the bishop in 1862.

Holy Mountain (Athos) found him. And he set the dead Marko on his horse and brought him to the seashore and took him by ship to the Holy Mountain and buried him in the middle of the church of the White Vilindar:

‘But he left no sign thereon,
That none should know the grave of Marko
And that the enemies should not revenge them on the dead.’

Later Cycles

The other cycles belong to the period when Serbia was subjugated to the Turks. They celebrate the deeds of the Brankovići, the ruling despots of Serbia until 1459, of the Crnojevići, the last rulers of the Zeta dynasty (until 1496), of the bold Hajduks, guerilla warriors who took to the mountains from where they were always ready to harass the Turks who tyrannized over the Serbian people. The Hajduks kept alive the spirit of independence; particularly fine are the *pesme* about Starina Novak, a famous Hajduk of the sixteenth century and his faithful men, about Bajo Pivljanin of the seventeenth century and his men, especially Limun Hajduk and about the Bosnian Hajduks. Another cycle deals with the Uskoks, the men who sought refuge after the fall of Hercegovina in 1482 in Dalmatia and the Croatian coast where, as mercenaries of the emperors or of the *doge* of Venice, they protected the borders from the Turks and often made successful raids against them (see p. 38).

The struggle of the Montenegrins against the Turks in the eighteenth century and the liberation of Serbia in the nineteenth century have given rise to two cycles in which the events are described if less poetically then more accurately historically. Particularly fine are ‘Kara George’s Farewell to Serbia’, ‘The Beginning of the Revolt against the Dahijas’ and ‘The Battle of Mišar’, in which two black ravens describe the battle to Kulin’s mourning widow.

There are also cycles which deal with Dalmatian and Bosnian subjects. In the Bosnian *pesme* no historical events are described older than the sixteenth century, and, unlike the other *narodne pesme*, women and love themes are prominent. Of particular interest is the modern cycle in which recent events are sung. These deal with the Balkan Wars of 1912, 1913, the war of 1914–18, the assassination of King Alexander and the French Foreign Minister Barthou (who is called ‘Bartulović’). No doubt there are new *pesme* being recited to-day about the Yugoslav resistance and the exploits of the guerillas since 1941.

The professional bard, the *guslar* is disappearing, though he can still be heard mostly in Bosnia, Hercegovina and Montenegro, but the reciting of the *narodne pesme*, even without a musical accompaniment, is not dying out. Here we may observe the effect of the printed word on the oral tradition. Before the nineteenth century, few of the *narodne pesme* were written down. Now thousands are printed in variants. The first to be written down were in Peter Hektorović's *Ribanje* ('Fishing') heard from Hvar fishermen and published in 1568. Some more were found in manuscripts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but systematic collecting was only begun by Vuk Karadžić (1787–1864) who published two volumes of *pesme* in 1814 and 1815; a further collection was printed in four volumes in 1824–1833; a third, augmented edition, was published in six volumes in 1841–1866; a state edition in nine volumes appeared in 1887–1902 and has been reprinted many times since, the last being dated 1936. Vuk Karadžić set the trail for other collectors such as Sima Milutinović, Njegoš, Jukić, Martić, Petar Nović and others. Many *narodne pesme* have been printed in the *Matica Hrvatska* and the *Bosanska Vila*, and when printed they were a revelation. Translations of them began to appear in French, German and English; Goethe, Herder, Madame de Staël, Walter Scott, Grimm, Lamartine, Merimée, all appreciated them. Here was the heroic story of men of integrity and courage for whom the principles of faith and honour stood above all else and who sang of them in all simplicity, without boasting or didacticism. These *pesme* became a cult and an inspiration to those Slavs who were still under foreign domination. Literary men have found in them a source for new subjects. Particularly important is the fact that the language of the *narodne pesme* became the basis for a new Serbo-Croat literary language which was nearer to the simple spoken language of the people than the conventional literary medium which was heavily charged with Old Church Slavonic (see p. 210).

To-day, the Yugoslavs are justly proud of their *pesme* and they are aware how great a part of their national heritage they are. Small wonder then that their study in printed editions has been included in the obligatory curriculum of all the schools in Yugoslavia, and there is, therefore, not a single Yugoslav who cannot recite some lines by heart. This will ensure the survival of the *narodne pesme* as an inspiration both for literature and for life, though much of the rest of the folklore and popular customs, which have been handed down in oral form from generation to generation, will inevitably disappear.

MODERN DEVELOPMENT

THE RAGUSA (DUBROVNIK) SCHOOL

In the course of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Serbian literature in Cyrillic could not freely develop under the Turks, and the literature of the Croats in Glagolitic was being dominated by Roman Catholicism and progressively repressed from Rome and Venice; the Dalmatian coast, however, favoured both by geographical and by political factors, became a remarkable centre of cultural life. Under the influence of the Italian Renaissance and the classical learning, brought by Byzantine scholars after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there developed in Zadar, Split, Hvar and, above all, in the republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) a culture, partly Italian and partly Byzantine, and a literary movement unique in the history of the Yugoslavs. Never has so small a state produced so large a number of men of letters and, in particular, of poets. They wrote in Latin, in Italian and, most important of all, in the local 'Illyrian' dialect which greatly contributed to the development and the refinement of a literary language. The Dalmatian poets were particularly fertile. The love-poetry of the Troubadours influenced the lyrics of Menčetić (1457-1527), Drzić (d. 1501) and Lučić (c. 1485-1553). The most prolific poet of the sixteenth century, Vetranović (1482-1576), was a Benedictine, who retired from being the superior of a monastery to live as a hermit on the island of Sv. Andrija where he wrote poetry and religious mysteries. In *Remeta* ('The Hermit') he describes the life on the island; *Putnik* ('The Pilgrim') is an allegory, inspired by Dante, of man in sin, in repentance and in omniscience. His Bible-drama, 'The Sacrifice of Abraham', is his masterpiece.

In contrast to these poets, a great Humanist, Marko Marulić (1450-1524), of Spalato (Split), was an ardent adversary of the ideology of the Renaissance. As a moralist and a theologian he spent his life cultivating and advocating the Christian ideal of the middle ages. This remarkable representative of Christian thought wrote both in Latin and in Croatian. His best known works in Latin are: the 'Evangelistarium' (Venice, 1501), 'De institutione bene beateque vivendi' (Venice, 1506, translated into German, French, Italian, Spanish and Czech), 'De humilitate et gloria Christi' (1519) and a translation of the Glagolitic Croatian chronicle of Pop

Dukljanin, an important historical monument, which now survives only in Latin. His works in Croatian are some thirty religious poems, two epics and the translation of 'De Imitatione Christi'. Marulić's work was widely known and appreciated in Europe.

In the sixteenth century the Ragusan poets cultivated every form of poetry and drama. The outstanding poets are Čubranović, a goldsmith and a writer of masquerades; Nalešković (1510–1587), author of bucolic poems, rhymed letters and also a scientist who wrote an attack on the system of Galileo; Ranjina (1556–1607) seven times president of the republic and author of some four hundred and fifty poems; and Zlatarić (1558–1610), a didactic poet, a scholar, a translator of Tasso and of the Greek and Latin classics.

Franja Petrić, a Dalmatian (about 1519–1587), is the most impressive philosopher of the century. He was a man of erudition who published works on poetics, rhetoric, historiography and military art. As a Platonist, he published a criticism of Aristotle; his most important work was a new philosophy of the universe (1591), in which, influenced by the Neo-Platonist doctrine of emanation, Petrić teaches that light is the prime cause, the principle of all things and of all knowledge, and that it is God. Light, he believes, creates life, the mind, body and spirit and the whole of nature. In his inspired vision of a radiant universe where he sees Beauty, the Sublime and Harmony abundantly manifest in the world, this noble metaphysician preceded such famous philosophers as Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), Thomas Campanella (1568–1639) and Jacob Boehme (1575–1624) and has made a significant contribution to human thought.

In the seventeenth century Dalmatian literature reached its highest development. Its greatest representatives are: Ivan Gundulić (1588–1638), author of *Osman* (an epic on the conflict of the Slavs with the invading Osmanlis) and of seventeen other works, of which eleven were dramas—he was the finest literary artist that Ragusa produced; Palmotić (d. 1637), the creator of the national drama, and Bunić (d. 1658), a sensitive lyrical poet, author of love songs, pastoral conversations, sacred poems and a fine epic on St Mary Magdalene, the penitent.

In 1667 Ragusa and its citizens suffered greatly in an earthquake (see p. 40). This calamity seriously disturbed the cultural life of the republic. Whereas before, all the arts had flourished vigorously, now a decline in creative power gradually set in. The eighteenth century is no longer the century of inspiration and artistic originality,

but of translation, scholarship, compilation, the preservation of material for future generations, and the establishment of academies.

The Dalmatian literary movement did not radiate to other parts of the country. True, by the eighteenth century there was some literary activity in other centres, but these were not inter-related and literature did not grow into a national movement until the nineteenth century.

OTHER CULTURAL MOVEMENTS

In Slovenia and Croatia, literary development was determined by religious tendencies. The Reformation had awakened a literary activity in the form of proselytism; in Slovenia this was illustrated by the Protestant Trubar (1508–86) who translated the New Testament into Slovene (see p. 8), but after that the Slovenes did not produce anyone of great literary moment till the poet Vodnik (1758–1819), who can be regarded as the founder of modern Slovene literature.

In Bosnia and Croatia the Jesuits and Franciscans were responsible for a number of didactic and religious works.

The ideas of Europe were filtering in. By the eighteenth century it was eminently clear that the literature of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had taken the road of development based mostly on the imitation of modern European literature and not on the earlier native tradition. The Croatians imitated the Italians, while the Slovenes imitated both the Italians and the Germans. The Orthodox Serbs imitated the Russians; they read books sent from Russia, written in the Russian version of Old Church Slavonic and, influenced strongly by this, they wrote in an artificial literary language of Slavo-Serbian which retarded the development of literary Serbian. Thus the political and social conditions made this period of isolation, imitation and assimilation a long one from which modern Yugoslav literature is not yet entirely emancipated. However, more writers address themselves to a wider public: in Dalmatia, Kačić-Miošić wrote 'A Pleasant Talk of the Slavonic People'—a national chronicle in the style of the national ballads and thus romantically drew the attention of the literary people to the national epos.

Rudjer-Josip Bošković, born in Dubrovnik, was a scientist of international repute. An erudite example of the classical culture of his time, a member of the learned societies of London, Bologna, Rome, St Petersburg and others, he is the author of seventy works

on scientific, philosophic and literary subjects. He expounds his philosophic principles and atomic theory in 'Philosophiae Naturalis Theoria' (1758), which is his greatest claim to fame. His work on the eclipses of the sun and the moon, published in London in 1761, was written in some five thousand lines of hexameters.

In Slavonia, Reljković (1732-98) produced a popular epic 'Satire'; in the Vojvodina, Orfelin (1726-85) wrote a history of the Russian Tsar, Peter the Great (1772); in Serbia the intellectual renaissance was led by Rajić (1726-1801) and Dositije Obradović (1742-1811), who can be regarded as the starting point of modern Serbian literature (see p. 103). A runaway monk, Obradović, travelled adventurously in Europe and Asia Minor in search of enlightenment. He learnt several languages, read avidly and absorbed the eighteenth century encyclopaedists and rationalists. In a vivid autobiography, published in 1783, which is more of a pedagogic novel of the type fashionable in the eighteenth century, he tried with sincerity and didactic eloquence to instruct the Serbian people and to pass on to them his faith in 'progress' and learning. His works 'The Counsels of Sound Reason', fables with moralizing commentaries, and 'Ethics, or Moral Philosophy', brought the Serbs into contact with European eighteenth-century ideals and reveal Obradović, not as an original thinker, but as a sincere enlightener who was one of the first boldly to insist on education, to war against superstition, and to advocate that the several branches of the Southern Slavs were but one people artificially kept apart.

The literary language of the Serbs, this amalgam of Old Church Slavonic and Russian, was indeed an unwieldy instrument for the further development of Serbian literature. The reforms of Vuk Karadžić overrode all prejudices and began a new age of Serbian literature (see p. 210). Ljudevit Gaj (1809-72) contributed to the purification of Croatian (see p. 24) and Kopitar and Blajvajs (Bleiweiss) (1808-81) did the same to Slovene (see p. 11). By the middle of the nineteenth century there was one single literary language for the Serbs and Croats, a vehicle for expressing national aspirations and creative artistic thought was now available. A number of poets of merit appeared. The greatest of these is Petar Petrović Njegoš (1813-51), the Prince-Bishop of Montenegro (see p. 63), author of 'The Light of the Microcosm', the most profound poem in the language and inspired by Milton's 'Paradise Lost'. He was also the author of the epic 'The Mountain Garland', which sings of the glory of the mountains, of the fight of the Montenegrins against

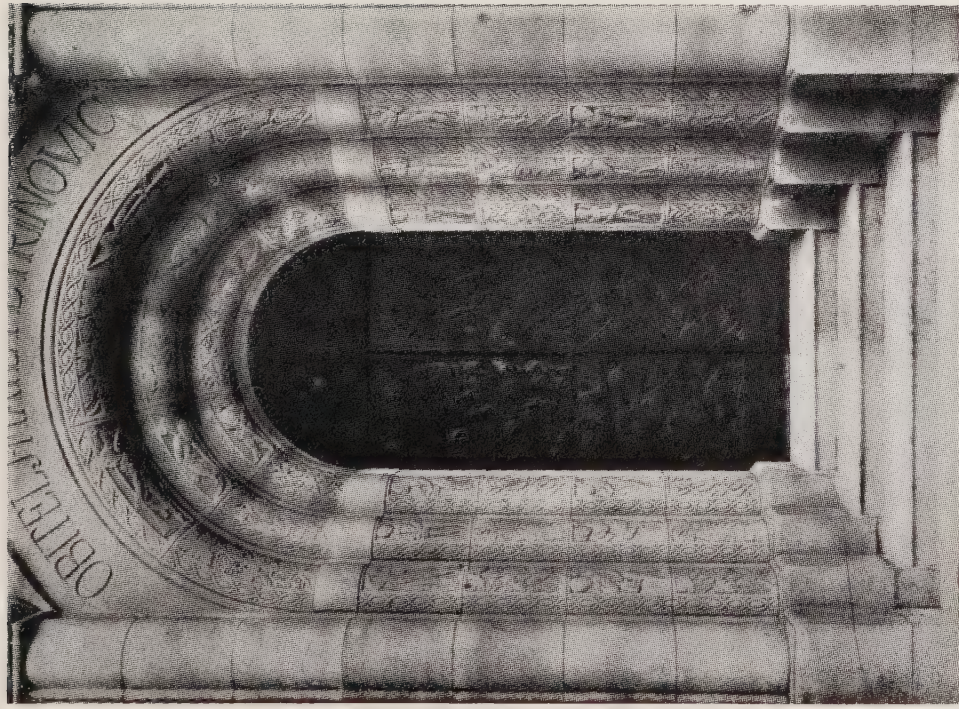


Plate 33. Main gateway to mausoleum on Brač Island
The mausoleum of the Petrinović family on Brač Island by Rosandić was erected in 1927. The building is a combination of Gothic and Slav Byzantine architecture. This photograph shows the intricate design of the carving on the semi-Gothic main doorway.



Plate 34. 'The Vestal Virgin' or 'La Pucelle' by Rosandić is life-size and carved in walnut wood.



Plate 35. Detail from the mausoleum at Cavtat
The mausoleum of the Račić family at Cavtat was designed and decorated by Meštrović. Begun in 1920 and completed in 1923, it is built of white crystalline marble from Brač. It consists of one principal and two side chapels. Between the chapels there are two archangels carrying in their arms the souls of the dead. Each angel has two pairs of wings in the Byzantine manner—one large and folded downwards, the other crossed behind the head.



Plate 36. 'Madonna and Angels'

Carved in wood by Meštrović, the 'Madonna and Angels' is in the Meštrović Gallery at Zagreb.

the Turk. Ivan Mažuranić, Ban of Croatia, is the author of the historical poem 'The Death of Smail Aga', whose theme is also the expression of the struggle of the Serb against the Turk. The outstanding Slovene lyrical poet of the period was Franja Prešern (1800-49).

Influenced by each of the European movements in turn, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes translated the major and minor writers of the Italians, Germans, French, Russians, Scandinavians and the English and were learning from the literature of Europe to produce their own literature. A national literature, mainly the expression of national aspirations, developed on similar lines. The vigorous intellectual activity and the cult of literature in such centres as Zagreb, Belgrade, Novi Sad and Ljubljana brought about the establishment of national theatres, the birth of national dramatists and the appearance of a large number of writers. By the twentieth century every genre of literature was competently represented; lyrical poetry, the novel, the short story and drama, each had its catalogue of adepts of whom the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are justly proud. The creation of the new kingdom of Yugoslavia gave further impetus to the development of a Yugoslav literature. Judged on an international plane, the cultural level of the Yugoslav intellectual is no different from that of his opposite number in the other European countries. Nevertheless, it can be justly maintained that Yugoslav literature, although it has produced some masterpieces is often of purely local interest and of national rather than international importance. The same can be said of the several competent schools of painting.

It is, however, in the field of modern European sculpture, in the work of Meštrović, Rosandić and others that the creative genius of the Yugoslav people has contributed most. In that realm, intellect and intuition have fused in a single consciousness and the two sources of knowledge, learning from foreigners and from the traditional knowledge of one's own country and people, have resulted in works of art of universal significance. Ivan Meštrović (b. 1883) has produced more than three hundred works of art, many of them on a massive scale. Religion and patriotism have been the two great motives that have inspired his work. These are best expressed in the heroic figures from the *narodne pesme* for the projected monumental Temple of Kosovo; in the statues of Marulić and Grgur of Nin at Split and of Strossmayer at Zagreb; in the memorial to the Unknown Soldier on Mt Avala near Belgrade; in the Canadian war memorial and in the beautiful white crystalline marble mausoleum at Cavtat.

Apart from numerous figures in stone and marble of the Madonna and Child, Meštrović has created an exquisite series of reliefs in wood representing scenes from the life of Christ which have earned for him the reputation of being one of the greatest sculptors of religious subjects since the Renaissance.

Toma Rosandić (b. 1878) has been deeply influenced by Meštrović, but his work is essentially different. He avoids any epic or literary subject on a vast scale. The medium he excels in is wood, and the most famous of such work is the 'Vestal Virgin'. On the island of Brač he has built a mausoleum to the memory of the Petrinović family; this is a blend of Gothic and Slav Byzantine, with much detailed ornament and a fine carved doorway. A host of younger Yugoslav sculptors are following Meštrović and Rosandić, and in this fertile contribution to European sculpture the Yugoslav peoples have shown their continuity with their anonymous ancestors, the artists, craftsmen and monks who were inspired in the Middle Ages and the nameless word-painters of their national epic poetry.

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Chapter VI

GOVERNMENT, ADMINISTRATION AND LAW

Introduction: The New State of 1918: The *Vidovdan* Constitution of 1921: The Constitution of 1931: Political Parties: Legal System: Police System: Bibliographical Note

INTRODUCTION

The realization of South Slav political unity in 1918 gave a new significance to many of the antagonisms and contrasts of culture, creed and regional consciousness that had existed for centuries among the constituent groups of the new state. Not the least important of these differences was the inequality of experience in government responsibility, and this inequality provided a major difficulty when the time came to face the constitutional problem of the new kingdom.

Serbia

Serbia had long been accustomed to various forms of self-government. Throughout the nineteenth century there had been a strange sequence of constitutions and of fundamental laws, either decreed by the sultans or promulgated by the Serbian princes under the pressure of popular demands. A national assembly (*Skupština*), together with a 'council of state', had been instituted in the time of Kara George. Although the *Skupština*, in its early days, was little more than a gathering of armed warriors who expressed their opinions 'by a thunder of cheers or of hisses', by the middle of the century it had become a regularly constituted, but irregularly convoked, assembly. The first Serbian constitution of any importance was that imposed by the Turks in 1838. Miloš was confirmed as hereditary prince of Serbia, but the executive power of the council of state was strengthened in order to restrain the prince's despotism, and an oligarchic régime was thus inaugurated. This constitution was replaced in 1861, during the reign of Michael, by one which brought more power into the hands of the prince and regularized the position of the *Skupština* through limiting the control of the state council. Soon after Michael's death in 1868, the regency began to reform the constitution in a manner that would almost certainly have gained the murdered prince's approval. The reformed constitution

of 1869 had all the outward signs of a liberal and democratic instrument designed to expedite the working of normal parliamentary government. In practice, however, its provisions tended to restrict the powers of the *Skupština* and to strengthen the autocratic methods of the executive. The rise of a 'Radical' movement in the 'seventies led to agitation for further constitutional reforms in the 'eighties, and in 1889, shortly before his abdication, King Milan, in a last bid to save his position, appointed a commission, representing all parties, to draft another constitution. This document, which was approved by a more or less intimidated assembly, was considerably more liberal in character than its predecessors, and its major innovations included a statement of the parliamentary responsibility of ministers, a wide extension of the franchise and a promise of freedom for the press. In 1894, five years after his accession, Alexander dissolved the *Skupština*, abolished the constitution of 1889 and restored that of 1869. The Radicals were naturally strongly opposed to this arbitrary suspension of a liberal constitution. The political blunder of his marriage forced the king, in 1901, to find some means of regaining popularity. A new constitution was devised, more democratic, it is true, than that of 1869, but certainly less liberal than that of 1889, and for the first time in Serbian history, a second chamber was created. Once again, in March 1903, Alexander temporarily suspended the constitution, but when he attempted to restore it a few weeks later, it was too late. In June, Peter Karageorgević accepted the crown offered to him by the *Skupština*; one of his first acts was to recover and strengthen the constitution of 1889—the franchise was extended, proportional representation was introduced and changes were made in the membership of the national assembly, which was now to meet annually. It was under this revised constitution of 1889 that Serbia was governed until the creation of the united kingdom in 1918.

Montenegro

Montenegro had known a primitive form of self-government since the end of the seventeenth century and an elective senate had been created in 1831. Prince Nicholas promulgated a 'constitution' in 1868, and the laws of the country were later codified, but in effect the prince retained all executive power in himself. In 1905, Nicholas granted another constitution; it provided for an assembly of two classes of members—a majority chosen by universal manhood suffrage and an *ex-officio* minority nominated by the king; ministries

were made responsible both to the crown and to the legislature; liberty of expression and of religion was also guaranteed. These concessions to modern democratic principles made the constitution an impressive document, and, indeed, it was fully intended that it should make a favourable impression on foreign states. Nevertheless, Nicholas's jealous hold on his own authority, together with the absence of a quickened political consciousness among the Montenegrin populace, prevented any effective application of the constitution and restrained any development in the legislative power of the national assembly. Skill in the art of parliamentary government could not therefore be among Montenegro's contributions to the constitutional needs of the triune kingdom.

Croatia-Slavonia

Between 1868 and 1918, Croatia-Slavonia was governed under the terms of the *Nagoda* which placed it under Hungarian supremacy (see p. 26). The Croat assembly (*Sabor*), it is true, had its origins in the *Sabor* of the independent medieval kingdom, but its function, as defined in the *Nagoda*, was to advise and assist the Hungarian-appointed governor (*Ban*). Because of the limited nature of the suffrage in the province (there were only 49,000 voters in a total population of 2,600,000), the assembly could not in any way be regarded as truly representative. Despite the more apparent advantages of autonomous status for fifty years, with the use of the Serbo-Croat language permitted in all public services, the principles and methods of real self-government were largely unpractised among the inhabitants of Croatia.

Slovenia and Dalmatia

In Slovenia and Dalmatia, on the other hand, conditions had been more favourable. The various regions which went to form these provinces had each possessed its own Diet since 1861 (see p. 12) and the ground was thus prepared for the training of skilful parliamentarians. Moreover, under a somewhat restricted system of suffrage, each of the regions shared in elections to the central parliament at Vienna (indirectly between 1867 and 1893), and universal manhood suffrage was introduced in 1906.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

No constitution was granted to the provinces of Bosnia-Hercegovina when they were transferred to Austria-Hungary in 1878, and

even when a constitution was promulgated in 1910, on their formal annexation and incorporation by the Dual Monarchy (see p. 56), it was not conceived in a democratic form. A Diet elected by restricted voting was established, but its powers were only those of consultation; it could not initiate bills and the approval both of the governor and of the Austro-Hungarian Finance Minister had to be obtained before any projects of law voted by the *Sabor* could become effective. General administration was centralized under imperial heads of departments; local government, too, was centralized in the same way under officials who relied upon the authority and assistance of the governor.

Other regions

In the Macedonian areas of South Serbia, retained by Turkey until the Balkan War of 1912, Turkish administration still lingered on and no attempt had been made to educate the people. Political experience was also slight among the Serbs of the Vojvodina. With a limited suffrage, they returned deputies to the Hungarian parliament, but local government was everywhere dominated by officials from Budapest.

THE NEW STATE OF 1918

The diversity of the Southern Slav political heritage became evident when the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on 4 December 1918. Full agreement had not been reached between the representatives of these three peoples on the constitutional pattern of the state. Indeed, the name of the new kingdom itself was an indication of the reluctance of the leaders of the different groups to be brought into a closer and larger unity.

The Declaration of Corfu, on 20 July 1917, which had been issued by the Serbian premier and the president of the Yugoslav Committee (see p. 144), proclaimed the future union of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a constitutional, democratic and parliamentary monarchy under the Karageorgević dynasty. The two alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic, and the three main religious bodies were to receive equal privileges. A constituent assembly was to be elected by direct, equal and secret ballot, and to be charged with the task of drafting a constitution for the new kingdom. Beyond these provisions, the Corfu manifesto only declared that local autonomy should be granted in accordance with natural, social and economic conditions. The

question whether the state should be centralized or federal was thus left to the constituent assembly.

The interpretation of the last clause in the Corfu declaration produced considerable differences of opinion among the 296 members of the provisional assembly. This assembly, which met at Belgrade in March 1919, consisted of the surviving members of the former Serbian *Skupština* and elected representatives from the various provincial assemblies outside Serbia. Eventually, in September 1920, a law was passed for the election of a constituent assembly. Elections were held in November and, among other things, they were notable for their freedom. The constituent assembly had 419 members, divided among fifteen parties. Five of these parties (Radicals, Democrats, Communists, Social Democrats and Agrarians), which broadly represented centralist views, gained 290 seats, while the three large parties, whose hopes were largely based on federalism (Croat Peasant, Slovene Populists and Moslems), obtained 101 seats; the remaining seats were distributed among minor parties (see p. 340). A committee, composed of forty-two members drawn proportionately from each group, was appointed to consider the draft constitution presented by the government. The assembly decided that the government's plan should be discussed first, then the committee's recommendations, and finally individual drafts and amendments submitted by any group consisting of at least twenty deputies. Each plan was discussed in turn; there was a Croat draft stressing the advantages of federalism, and a Slovene plan 'representing federalism in politics and state socialism in economics'; there were other plans (e.g. the Protić scheme) intended to effect a compromise between centralization and federalism. In May, a preliminary vote was taken on the government draft, which was centralist in tone, and it was provisionally adopted by 227 to 93 votes. A lengthy and bitter debate followed, clause by clause, and then, on 28 June 1921, the final vote was taken: 223 deputies voted for the draft, while 35 were against it. The two government parties—Democrat and Radical—obtained the support of the Moslem Organization through an assurance that agrarian reform in Bosnia would be accompanied by general compensation to the Moslem landlords and that the new administrative divisions would not cross the boundaries of Bosnia. At the final vote, 163 deputies, including the members of the Croat Peasant Party, were absent; both Croats and Slovenes contended that a centralist constitution had been imposed upon them despite their protests.

THE *VIDOVDAN* CONSTITUTION OF 1921

The first constitution of the new kingdom was adopted on *Vidovdan* (the feast of St Vitus) which was also the anniversary of the Serbian defeat at Kosovo in 1389 (see p. 89). Its general provisions declared that the official title of the state was 'the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes', and that the state was a constitutional, parliamentary and hereditary monarchy. The title was adopted after the Democrats and Radicals had rejected the name of Yugoslavia, which had been advocated by the other parties. The official language of the state was to be 'Serbo-Croat-Slovene'—a philological figment designed to bring the linguistic clause into line with the triple nature of the state's official title. The fundamental rights and duties of citizenship were enunciated in accordance with the doctrines of Western liberalism: all citizens were to be equal before the law, the liberty of the individual was guaranteed and there was freedom of religion, of the press, of association and of education.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Monarchy

Legislative power was to be exercised jointly by the king and the national assembly. Although executive power was vested in the monarch, he was to exercise it through his responsible ministers, and all his acts were to be countersigned by the competent minister. The king sanctioned all legislation, nominated state officials, promoted army officers and held the command of the armed forces. He possessed the right of pardon, but ministers could receive an amnesty only with the prior assent of parliament. Power to declare war and to conclude peace was given to the crown, but the assent of parliament was necessary. The king could summon the national assembly for extraordinary sessions. He was empowered, subject to ratification by parliament, to negotiate all treaties except those which involved the nation in territorial changes.

The succession was limited to Alexander and his male heirs by lawful marriage in order of primogeniture. In the absence of male heirs, the king could nominate his successor in the collateral line, subject to the assent of one more than half of the total number of members of the national assembly. In the event of a regency being necessary, parliament was to decide by secret vote upon its institution

and termination. Finally, if there should be no heir to the throne, the Council of Ministers was to assume the royal power and forthwith to summon a special session of parliament to decide on the succession to the throne.

While the constitution thus set out and defined the rights and powers of the monarchy, the crown had been the one stable element amid the fluctuating and uncertain conditions of the early constitutional struggles. It was, in fact, older than the constitution and it was inevitable, therefore, during the first years of the kingdom that the king should exercise a wider personal influence on the direction of political events than would have been the case had the monarchy merely been created by the new constitution.

The Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers was formed collectively of all the ministers and it was subject directly to the king. Ministers were responsible both to the king and to parliament. The president of the council, who also acted as prime minister, together with the other members, were appointed by the crown. The numbers and functions of the ministries were determined by royal decree; ministers generally acted as heads of state departments, but ministers without portfolio could also be appointed. Members of the Council of Ministers were usually members of the *Skupština*, but there were frequent exceptions; for example, the Minister for Defence was often a professional soldier and the Minister for Communications a specialist not actively engaged in political life. The number of ministries varied from one government to another and in different political circumstances, but as a rule there were at least sixteen members of the council. Under-secretaries of state were appointed to some of the ministries and invariably they were members of parliament. Most ministers, on assuming office, brought with them their own *chefs de cabinet*; the official adviser of each minister, however, was a permanent civil servant. These permanent advisers were at the apex of an extremely large civil service whose members, admitted without examination, showed considerable variation in the standards of their attainment and performance.

Parliament

The *Vidovdan* constitution was notable in that it was one of the few constitutions in Europe to provide for only one legislative chamber. The national assembly or *Skupština* met in Belgrade and

consisted of deputies elected by universal manhood suffrage. The voting age was twenty-one, but no member of the armed forces could either vote or stand for election. The assembly was elected for four years under a system of proportional representation originally devised in Belgium in 1899. There was one deputy for each 40,000 inhabitants, but if an electoral area had a surplus of 25,000, an additional deputy was elected; thus there were 319 deputies in the first assembly. With certain exceptions, membership was open to any citizen enjoying full civil rights, over thirty years of age and able to speak and write the national language. From the day of their election until the writ for new elections was issued, deputies received the usual parliamentary immunities. The validity of the election of its members was verified by the assembly itself through a verification committee.

The *Skupština* met in regular session on 20 October in each year, unless it was summoned earlier to extraordinary session by royal decree. A regular session could not be terminated until the state budget had been voted. The officers of the assembly were elected by the deputies from their own number, and the president of the chamber was responsible for the maintenance of order. The constitution had established the committee system as the method of parliamentary procedure. Consequently no proposal for legislation could be brought up for discussion in the *Skupština* before it had been considered by the appropriate committee. The number, functions and membership of the various committees were left to the assembly itself, but the constitution set up a special legislative committee to expedite the confirmation of government decrees and the consolidation of laws relating to certain specific financial and administrative matters. There were generally six parliamentary standing committees, in addition to the legislative committees, all of which were elected proportionately from all parties by the assembly on the nomination of the party executives. Select committees also were set up from time to time. Each standing committee considered bills and matters referred to it, but it neither prepared nor drafted measures and proposals for legislation; these were introduced either by the government or by private members.

Voting was public and deputies had to cast their votes in person. All proposals for legislation were voted on twice in the same session of the national assembly before being finally adopted. No parliamentary business could be conducted unless one-third of the members were present and no motion could be carried without a majority

vote of those present; when the division was equal, the proposal was rejected. All laws were promulgated by the king in a decree countersigned by all the ministers, and each law came into force fifteen days after its publication in the official journal.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The constitution of 1921 laid the basis for a highly centralized scheme of local government, with the department or *oblast*, the district or *srez* and the commune or *opština* as the main units.

The Oblast

Jugoslavia was divided into thirty-three *oblasti* or provinces, delimited chiefly by consideration of topographical convenience, compactness of population (no *oblast* had a population exceeding 800,000), former administrative practice and historic provincial boundaries. Except around Belgrade, the provincial boundaries did not in general cut across the latter boundaries (Fig. 67).

The executive head of each department was the *Župan* or prefect, who was appointed by the king on the nomination of the Minister for the Interior. The prefect was a civil servant of at least fifteen years' experience, with a degree in civil law, and his chief function was to see that the will of the central government prevailed in local government. As the representative of the central authority, at Belgrade, he supervised the execution of its laws, and with the aid of technical experts from the central bureaux he discharged the orders of about ten ministers. As head of the departmental government, the *Župan* was responsible for seeing that the laws and ordinances of the local authorities did not conflict either with national law or with the general welfare of the state. In his second capacity, the prefect had a suspensory veto on the decision of the departmental council, with appeal to the Council of State (see p. 348).

The departmental council was elected by parliamentary voters for a period of four years; one member of the council was assigned to every district having a population of 10,000, with an additional member for every surplus of 5,000 inhabitants. The council assembled in November of each year and elected a president, vice-president and an executive committee of five to eight members; this committee not only discharged exclusively provincial duties, but it also co-operated with the *Župan* in the application of state law. The powers of the departmental councils were defined at length in the

constitution, and they covered the supervision of finance, public works, economic affairs, public health and social welfare, transport, education, savings banks and insurance. In practice, however, the powers of both the *Župan* and the departmental authorities were restricted to interpreting and executing the instructions of the central



Fig. 67. *Oblasti*—administrative divisions, 1921-9
Based on official Yugoslav sources.

government. Thus the financial administration of the department was controlled by the Minister of Finance and the Court of Accounts (see p. 348). Again, officials employed by the departmental authorities were often assimilated to state officials and, theoretically, promotion was possible from the lowest range of local appointments into the ranks of the state service.

The Srez

The department was further divided into *srezovi* or districts, varying in number from four to twenty-four, each under a sub-prefect

(*Načelnik*). This official, who had to be a graduate in law and a civil servant of experience, was appointed by the Minister of the Interior, but he was responsible to the *Župan*. The law provided for an elected district council and an executive committee, but in fact neither of these bodies existed outside Serbia, where *srez* assemblies had functioned before 1914; elsewhere, their institution was being continually deferred, mainly because it was considered that they would be expensive and unnecessary.

The Opština

The lowest unit of local government under the *Vidovdan* constitution was the *opština* or commune, which, like its French counterpart, varied in size from small villages to large towns and cities. There was no uniform law throughout the kingdom for communal administration, apart from the two general principles of manhood suffrage for all elections and of the right of government veto in all mayoral elections. Otherwise a confusion of provincial practices prevailed. In Serbia, all officials and councillors were elected by popular vote. In Croatia and Slavonia, councils were elected by the people, but mayors were chosen by the communal councillors. In Slovenia and Dalmatia, there were several cities with ancient charters, and electoral methods established under the Austrian régime were unchanged. To the east, in the Vojvodina, there were four former Hungarian 'free' cities—Novi Sad, Vršac, Sombor and Subotica—all of which enjoyed the autonomous rights of departments. The practice of municipal government in Bosnia and Hercegovina was chaotic; it varied from popular election of councillors, as in Mostar, to nomination by the central government, as in Sarajevo, or to informal agreements between the local committees of the political parties.

In view of the rigid control exercised by the central government at Belgrade over all forms of local government, it was difficult for local authorities to put into effect any major improvement schemes, although some departmental administrations, especially in Macedonia, achieved considerable improvements in roads, sanitation and other public works. But there was not a long tradition of self-government in the country; Croats, Slovenes and Moslems, too, were deeply disappointed at being administered from Belgrade. It was, therefore, more or less inevitable that too much centralization, working through an overcrowded and poorly-paid civil service, should result in confusion, delay and unnecessary expense. The scope of local autonomy seemed impressive on paper, but in reality

both local and private initiative were too often frustrated by the machinery of centralization.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1931

On 6 January 1929, King Alexander declared that the *Vidovdan* constitution was abolished, and assumed the responsibility of absolute power. Various decrees, all aimed at the complete unification of the state, were issued from time to time (see p. 163) and finally, on 3 September 1931, the king promulgated a new constitution which, with minor alterations and subject to the establishing of Croatian autonomy in 1939 (see p. 183), was still in force in 1941. The preamble to the decree of promulgation made it clear that this definitive constitution was to provide a wider basis to national unity and policy. The name of the kingdom was changed to Yugoslavia, and the state was declared to be a constitutional monarchy under the Karageorgević dynasty. The fundamental rights and duties of citizenship were again enunciated in an impressive manner, and the liberties guaranteed in the *Vidovdan* constitution were re-asserted. The interpretation of these liberties, however, was made doubtful by the statement that they were granted 'within the limits of the law', and the law remained as under the dictatorship. Furthermore, all associations for political purposes, or indeed for physical training, formed on a religious, regional or particularist basis, were expressly forbidden. It was argued that this new constitution, although it contained a substantial residuum of the constitutional principles laid down in that of 1921 and, for that matter, in the Serbian constitution of 1903, provided a first step towards the re-introduction of parliamentary democracy, while it also ensured the continuance of royal power. Its promulgation was not received without misgiving; its Serbian critics complained that it was a mere disguise for autocracy, while Croats, Slovenes and Moslems protested that it did nothing more than prolong centralist government from Belgrade.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Monarchy

Under the constitution of 1931, the king is granted not only the general powers defined in 1921 (see p. 322), but also the unconditional right to determine the succession to the throne in the absence

of male heirs and to appoint regents in the event of the heir succeeding during his minority. Legislative power is again exercised jointly by the crown and the national assembly, and all of the king's acts must be countersigned by the responsible minister.

The Council of Ministers

The king exercises executive power and legislative control through the Council of Ministers which is directly responsible to him. The monarch alone can appoint and dismiss ministers. The council decides on all matters concerning the general administration of the state except those which come within the scope of the law courts, the revenue and the military authorities. Ministers, who may sit in either the senate or the chamber, cannot be indicted unless a two-thirds majority is obtained in the national assembly. A law of 31 March 1929 limited membership of the council to thirteen ministers and a president. On 19 April 1929 another decree defined the functions of the ministries and the number of their departments. A further decree of 27 August 1933 established a ministry of Posts and Telegraphs. In June 1943 the Council of Ministers consisted of fourteen members: the prime minister (who was also the Minister of the Interior), one minister without portfolio acting as vice-president of the council, and the ministers for Foreign Affairs, War, Communications, Finance, Justice, Social Welfare and Public Health, Agriculture, Food and Supplies, Education, Public Works, Commerce and Industry, and Posts and Telegraphs. The ministries of Mines and Forests and of Physical Education were not filled.

Parliament

Since 1931, the Yugoslav parliament has consisted of two chambers: the Senate and the *Skupština* or Chamber of Deputies. The Senate, only one-half of whose members are elected, has a mandate for six years, while the *Skupština* is elected for four years by direct and equal manhood suffrage—soldiers on active service being excluded. Voting for elections to the lower house, however, is no longer secret, for the ballot was abolished by a special electoral law promulgated in 1931. No person can be a member of both houses and state officials are not eligible for membership of either house. Senators each receive an allowance of 250 dinars (about £1) per day while the session lasts; each deputy receives 250 dinars per day while the session lasts and a free pass over the state railways and waterways.

The two chambers have equal powers of initiation and legislation; they assemble in Belgrade on 20 October, unless they are previously summoned to extraordinary session by the king. The senate does not sit except when the chamber is in session.

Amendments to the constitution can be proposed both by the king and by parliament. If the proposals are submitted by the king, they are communicated to both houses of parliament, which are then immediately dissolved, with general elections following within four months. When amendments come either from the senate or from the *Skupština*, a three-fifths majority of senators or deputies is required for the submission of each amendment. Both chambers are then dissolved, but the new houses, which must meet within four months, cannot discuss any amendments other than those which caused the previous dissolution. Whether the amendments originate from the king or from parliament, a clear majority must be obtained in both houses before they are incorporated in the constitution.

The Senate. Membership of the senate consists of two groups: (i) Elected senators, on a basis of one to every 300,000 inhabitants, are chosen by assemblies in each *banovina*, comprising deputies for that *banovina*, the banovinal councillors and the mayors of communes. One-half of this elected body retires every three years. (ii) Nominated senators, appointed by the king, are equal to one-half of the number of elected senators. No person under 40 years of age is eligible for membership of the senate and a nominated senator who is also a government servant must resign his crown appointment.

The Skupština. The general details of parliamentary procedure and committees in the lower chamber do not differ markedly from those outlined on p. 324. There are, however, two major features that distinguish the *Skupština*, as reconstituted in 1931, from the assembly set up under the *Vidovdan* constitution. The first difference lies in the methods of election instituted by the electoral law of 1931. The chamber consists of at least 305 members, of which three are assigned to Belgrade and the remainder, in fixed proportions, to each *banovina*. The system of electoral lists is extremely complicated and the names of candidates must be registered at least twenty-five days before polling day. There are two sets of lists: (a) lists for the whole country which contain the names of candidates nominated by sixty electors from half the constituencies spread over six *banovine*; (b) lists for individual seats, with the names of candidates nominated by at least 200 electors who must produce evidence that they have received the permission of the person heading each list. Each

candidate must solemnly pledge his acceptance of the régime. After the total number of votes polled has been counted, candidates obtaining a relative majority, or a minimum of 50,000 votes in the whole country, are declared elected. Then, following a graduated scale, three-fifths of all the seats allocated to the *banovine* are assigned to the 'national list' which has obtained most votes; if this list obtains an absolute majority, it also participates in the proportional distribution of the remaining seats, but it does not receive more places if its majority is only relative. In practice, therefore, no candidate can present himself except on a party list, and no party can submit lists unless it does so in at least half of about 305 constituencies.

The second difference arises from the bi-cameral nature of parliament as defined in the constitution of 1931. Projects of law are presented after being authorized by the king through the responsible minister. Private members can introduce bills provided that they have the written support of at least one-fifth of either the senate or the chamber. Bills and resolutions adopted by the chamber are submitted to the senate for consideration and approval; if they are agreed to in their entirety by both houses, they are then referred to the king for ratification.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

To remedy the evils inherent in the system of local government created by the *Vidovdan* constitution, King Alexander re-cast the régime by a law of 3 October 1929 designed to provide regional decentralization. The scheme thus embodied was confirmed by the constitution of 1931 and the main units of local government are the *banovina*, the *srez* and the *opština*. The regulations of the central government are enforced by the *banovina* and *srez* authorities, while local administration is exercised by the *banovina* and the *opština*.

The Banovina

The thirty-three *oblasti* of 1921 were replaced in 1929 by nine *banovine* and the prefecture of Belgrade. Except for the Primorska, comprising the greater part of the Dalmatian coast, the *banovine* are named after the rivers which flow across them. It was intended that each *banovina* should be large enough to be an economic unit and to enjoy a wide measure of independence; boundaries were so drawn as to cut across many of the historic limits, but some consideration was shown for the Croats and the Slovenes. Thus the

Slovene lands were formed into the *banovina* of the Drava, and almost all of the lands mainly inhabited by Croats became the *banovine* of the Sava and the Primorska (Littoral). Bosnia, however, was divided between four, while Serbia formed parts of no less than five *banovine*. The banovinal boundaries as created in 1929 are shown in Fig. 68; the area and population of each *banovina*, according to the census of March 1931, was as follows:

<i>Banovina</i>	Area in sq. miles	Population	Chief Town
Dravska	6,119	1,144,298	Ljubljana
Drinska	10,750	1,534,739	Sarajevo
Dunavska	12,056	2,387,295	Novi Sad
Moravska	9,832	1,435,584	Niš
Primorska	7,587	901,660	Split
Savska	15,649	2,704,383	Zagreb
Vardarska	14,158	1,574,243	Skoplje
Vrbaska	7,303	1,037,382	Banja Luka
Zetska	11,967	925,516	Cetinje
Belgrade (prefecture)	145	288,938	Belgrade
Total	95,568	13,934,038	—

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1933, p. 39 (Beograd, 1935).

The executive head of each *banovina* is the Ban, who has the status and emoluments of a cabinet minister; he is appointed, on the nomination of the president of the Council of Ministers, by royal decree through the Minister of the Interior. The Ban is both a national official representing the central government, and head of the provincial authority.

In his first capacity, the Ban has control over all the public authorities who come under him, and he deals with all the administrative matters which do not fall within the spheres of the ministers or of the heads of *srezovi* (see p. 335). Technically, the Ban has the right of final decision on all matters falling within his jurisdiction and he enjoys wide discretionary control over the whole economic and cultural life of the *banovina*. Up to 1941, however, the Ban's powers were never fully exercised; the full effects of decentralization would have meant the transference of many civil servants to provincial centres, but it was found difficult to persuade higher officials to move from Belgrade and effective government thus remained at the capital. As a result, although it had been decreed that appeal from all the acts and decisions of his subordinates could go no

further than him, in practice all of the Ban's decisions of first instance were subject to ministerial revision and all his other decisions could be modified or annulled by a minister. The original scheme had provided for certain state officials to be appointed by the head of the *banovina*, but this control, too, was considerably minimized. The



Fig. 68. The boundaries of the *banovine*, 1929-41, and the boundaries of the autonomous *banovina* of Croatia, 1939-41

Based on official Yugoslav sources.

Ban is assisted by a deputy who replaces him when necessary; this official, who is appointed by royal decree, must be a lawyer and a senior civil servant of at least twelve years' standing. For the administration of state affairs, the law has set up eight directorates corresponding to the relevant departments in Belgrade.

In his second rôle, the Ban is granted extensive discretionary powers, and he is responsible for the execution of the banovinal council's decisions in matters affecting public services within the province. Regulations for all the banovinal institutions can be made

by him, but they must first be approved by the Minister of the Interior and by the other appropriate ministers.

The legislative power of the *banovina* is vested in a council elected for four years by equal and direct manhood suffrage. In turn, the council elects a banovinal commission from among its members to act as its executive committee. The council is charged with fixing the budget for the *banovina*, subject to the approval of the Minister of Finance; with the election of senators (see p. 330); and with making bye-laws, provided they conform to the constitution and to the laws of the state. These regulations are promulgated and published by the Ban after the Council of Ministers has approved of their legality.

The Prefecture of Belgrade. This administrative unit, which consists of Belgrade, Zemun and Pančevo, is under the direct control of the Ministry of the Interior, although, on a more limited scale, it deals with the same branches of central administration as the *banovine*. With the exception of public works, of social welfare and public health, of commerce and industry, and of police, all duties in the prefecture are undertaken by the appropriate ministers, but each minister may entrust the control of certain departments to the prefect. The prefect of Belgrade, who is assisted by a deputy, has the rank of a Deputy-Ban; in Zemun and Pančevo he executes the duties of a Ban, but in the commune of Belgrade, he performs the duties of a district head or *načelnik* (see p. 335). There is a finance section, staffed by state officials directly under the control of the prefect. This section drafts the budget for the prefecture and supervises its expenditure; the costs of maintenance are borne both by the state and by the communes within the prefecture.

The Banovina of Croatia. Under the terms of the *Sporazum* of 26 August 1939 (see p. 183), the autonomous *banovina* of Croatia was formed by uniting Savska and Primorska *banovine* together with the eight administrative districts of Dubrovnik, Šid, Ilok, Brčko, Gradačac, Derventa, Travnik and Fojnica (Fig. 68). This enlarged *banovina* differs from the others in that a number of central departments of state surrendered their competence over its territory to corresponding departments at Zagreb. These departments, which receive 29% of the revenue of the corresponding administrative divisions at Belgrade, are the departments of the Interior, Education, Internal Commerce and Industry, Justice, Forests, Peasant Welfare, Mines, Public Works, Social Policy, Health, and Finance. A law, which has not yet been applied, provides for the election of a *Sabor*,

or local parliament, to exercise legislative power jointly with the crown. The Ban, whose appointment is a crown affair, is responsible both to the king and to the *Sabor*.

The Srez

Each *banovina* is divided into *srezovi*, or districts, and the number of *srezovi* in each *banovina* in 1938 was as follows:

<i>Banovina</i>	Number of <i>srezovi</i>
Dravska	25
Drinska	37
Dunavska	52
Moravska	40
Primorska	21
Savska	70
Vardarska	44
Vrbaska	25
Zetska	32
Total	346

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1937, p. 385 (Beograd, 1938).

In 1939, autonomous Croatia consisted of 99 districts.

At the head of the district is the *sreski načelnik* and he is responsible for all administrative matters except those which come under higher authorities or are entrusted to the communes. Appointed by royal decree on the advice of the Minister of the Interior, the *sreski načelnik* is in many ways a miniature Ban and within his district he exercises a wide measure of authority. The district heads are assisted by certain officials for departmental work as well as by specialist assistants in such matters as education, sanitation, agriculture, forestry and veterinary supervision.

The Opština

The smallest unit of local government in Yugoslavia is the *opština*, or commune. Communes fall into two groups—rural and urban—and there were 3,901 in 1937; their distribution is shown in the table on page 335.

In autonomous Croatia there are 711 rural communes and 25 urban, thus making a total of 736 communes.

Two laws promulgated in 1934 have defined the powers and functions of the *opština*. The first reaffirmed the right of the people to choose its own administrators and continued the independent

<i>Banovina</i>	Number of communes		
	Rural	Urban	Total
Dravska	403	4	407
Drinska	437	7	444
Dunavska	798	15	813
Moravska	763	5	768
Primorska	98	4	102
Savska	524	19	543
Vardarska	371	8	379
Vrbaska	164	2	166
Zetska	271	6	277
Belgrade (prefecture)	—	2	2
Total	3,829	72	3,901

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie*, 1937, p. 385 (Beograd, 1938).

administration of the communes; the authority of the state, exercised through the central government, remained much the same as before. The second law brought uniformity into the administration of the various urban communes, and as a result 75 towns were decreed to be urban communes.

The chief authorities of the rural commune are the communal council, the executive officers and the mayor. Membership of the communal council varies from eighteen to thirty-six according to the population, and members are elected for a period of three years by direct manhood suffrage. The executive officers of the rural communes, also, are appointed normally for three years, and they are responsible for the administration of finance, of communal works, property and institutions, and of certain juridical matters. The mayor (*gradonačelnik*) is the head of the communal administration; he confirms the appointment of officials, signs communal orders and maintains discipline. He has ultimate control over the executive officials and represents the communal council on all occasions when the commune acts as an administrative unit of the state, except in police matters. The mayor is elected for three years by the council, but it happened that the central government often intervened by nominating candidates. Rural communes are empowered to manage their own property and to operate their own public utility schemes without interference.

The organization of urban communes is in general similar to that of rural communes, but the larger revenue and the wider needs of urban communes have combined to give them certain powers which,

in the rural bodies, are reserved to the central authority. The councils of urban communes are elected for four years and membership varies according to population. There are two groups of members: two-thirds of the members are elected by manhood suffrage and a third are nominated by the central government—they are ostensibly engineers, lawyers, and architects whose specialist knowledge is helpful in discussions of technical matters. The president of the council, who corresponds to the mayor of a rural commune, is elected for four years by direct suffrage, but nominations for this post are made by the central government. The council publishes statutes, decrees and regulations dealing with subjects within its powers. The legality of these decisions must be confirmed by the state authorities within two months; if no objection is raised, they become effective. Administrative committees, consisting of communal councillors and outside experts, are constituted by law; under the direction of the president they deal with those economic, cultural and social questions that directly affect the life of the commune. Certain restrictions are imposed on the commune's control of its property and finances; for example, the council cannot appropriate real estate for municipal undertakings without the consent of the Minister of Finance, and the communal budget is prepared by a joint committee of municipal councillors and a special commission appointed to control its application.

The head of the *banovina* is ultimately responsible for actions of all the communal councils except in matters delegated to them by the state; these are automatically dealt with by the department concerned. Petitions against decisions of the president of the council in local administration are in the first instance presented to the communal council and then to the Ban; appeals against the Ban's decision can be sent to the Council of State (see p. 348), whose ruling is final.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Domestic politics in Yugoslavia between 1919 and 1941 were characterized by a complicated variety of parties and by somewhat bewildering alternations of parliamentary alliances. A short description of the activities of these groups and coalitions will help to annotate the survey given in Chap. II of the main trend of political development in the kingdom between the two wars.

THE FIRST DECADE, 1918-1929

The Constituent Assembly of 1920 consisted of no less than fifteen political parties, with 419 representatives. The following were the most important of these parties:

(1) *Radical Party*

The Radical party, formally created in 1881 by Nicolas Pašić, had virtually ruled Serbia between 1903 and 1914. Originally an agrarian socialist party, by 1919 it had become a more or less conservative group representing the Serbian *bourgeoisie* and wealthier peasants, but it also received some support from *prečani* Serbs of the former Austrian and Hungarian lands. When the new state was formed, the Radicals advocated a centralist or unitarist system, although a small group within the party urged that the change from the old régimes should be cautious and gradual.

(2) *Democrat Party*

In 1919, dissident Radicals joined with members of the former Serbian opposition parties and with Serbs from Croatia and the Vojvodina (led by Pribičević), as well as with scattered Liberal elements from Croatia and Slovenia, to form the Democrat party. The Democrats showed more enthusiasm than the Radicals for the Yugoslav ideal even if it meant a vigorous centralism, but, under the influence of more liberal elements, they also showed a greater willingness to conciliate the Croats.

(3) *Serb Agrarian Party*

Created in 1920 to express the dissatisfaction of the peasants with government in the interests of townspeople, the Agrarian party drew its strength mainly from Bosnia and Serbia, and opposed centralism.

(4) *Croat Peasant Party (Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka or HSS)*

The Croat Peasant party had been founded at the beginning of the century by Stephen Radić and its aim was to establish a peasant republic. Under the limited franchise prevailing in Croatia-Slavonia, the party did not gain much parliamentary success before 1918, although its social and cultural influence was great. With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the extension of the franchise, the Croat Peasant party became an important political organization: between 1918 and 1924 it demanded the establishment

of an independent Croat republic; after 1924 it stood for Croatian autonomy.

(5) *Slovene Popular Party*

Known also as the Slovene Clerical, the Slovene Popular party had its origin in 1905 in the union of the Austrian 'Christian Social' party, founded in 1895, with the Slovene Catholics. After 1918, led by Mgr Korošec, it represented Roman Catholic interests, but its influence did not long persist outside Slovenia. Its programme was Slovene autonomy, together with the promotion of co-operatives and clerical control over schools; mainly by judicious support of the central government, the party gained a fair amount of administrative control in Slovenia.

(6) *Moslem Organization (MO)*

The Moslem Organization was formed in 1919 to protect the Moslem religion and law in Bosnia, and also to put forward the claims of Bosnian autonomy. Its opportunist tactics were not unlike those of the Slovene Clericals and they achieved limited success.

(7) *Communist Party*

Founded in 1919, the Communist party in Yugoslavia was more representative of the embittered and impoverished peasants of the south, especially in Montenegro, than of the relatively few urban workers, although it had a following among intellectualists.

(8) *Social Democrat Party*

A labour congress held at Belgrade in 1903 established the Social Democrat party; between then and 1918, mainly under German influence, the party made some little headway in Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia, but this was not sustained after 1918.

(9) *Croat Union*

The Union which had brought together the moderately nationalist Croat parties existing before 1919, was merged into the Croat Peasant party after 1920.

(10) *The Party of Croat Rights*

This party, also known as the Frankist party (after its founder Dr Frank), stood for a bitter, narrow and anti-Serb Croat nationalism.

(11) *The Džemijet*

This was the party of the Albanian and Turkish Moslems of Macedonia.

The following table shows the strength of the parties in the Constituent Assembly of 1920:

Democrat	92
Radical	91
Communist	58
Croat Peasant (<i>HSS</i>)	50
Serb Agrarian and other small Peasant parties	39
Slovene Popular	27
Moslem Organization	24
Social Democrat	10
<i>Džemijet</i>	5
Croat Union	4
Party of Croat Rights	3
Republican	3
Others	13
	<hr/>
	419
	<hr/>

The conflicting opinions of these political groups soon became evident in their reactions to the draft constitution of 1921 (see p. 321). The Croat Peasant party (*HSS*) refused to sit in parliament, both on Croat national and on republican grounds. The Communists, who were strongest in the industrial areas of Slovenia and especially in Ljubljana, withdrew from the assembly; so, too, did the Social Democrats, the Republicans, the Slovene Populars and the smaller Croat parties. Thus when the two government parties—Radicals and Democrats—obtained the support of the Moslem Organization (see p. 157), the 'Centralists' found themselves in an even stronger position than their numbers in parliament seemed to imply, and there was left only a handful of uninfluential Peasant parties to form an opposition.

The ratification of the *Vidovdan* constitution was the prelude to a gradual elimination of several political parties. Late in 1921, the Communist party was suppressed. In 1922, there was a split in the government; led by Davidović, the moderate Democrats within the government favoured decentralization and a revision of the constitution, but they were opposed by the democrats of the 'right', who followed Pribičević. The result was the formation of an entirely Radical cabinet.

In March 1923 Pašić, in the hope of consolidating his position,

held a general election and the change in the political scene, within less than two years, is reflected in the results of this election.

Government		Opposition	
	No. of Seats		No. of Seats
Radicals	108	Croat Peasants (<i>HSS</i>)*	70
<i>Džemijet</i>	14	Democrats	51
Germans	8	Slovene Populars	24
		Moslem Organization	18
		Agrarians	11
		Others	9
Total	130		183

* The 70 *HSS* deputies continued to absent themselves from parliament.

Anti-centralist opinion had been considerably strengthened, but the opposition in parliament was weakened by the abstention of the *HSS*, the second largest party in the country. The Radicals, deriving their support both from the Serbian middle classes and from the crown, were thus able to retain power. Their position was indeed more precarious, but, from time to time, and mainly because of Pašić's gift for securing temporary collaboration from the most unexpected quarters, they were able to form expedient coalitions.

In 1924, Radić instructed his followers in the *HSS* to attend the *Skupština* at Belgrade, and the whole pattern of parliamentary life was changed. The Radicals, for their part, joined forces with the Independent Democrat party, consisting of Pribičević's followers among the Democrats. This coalition, however, did not remain for long, and in July it was succeeded by an anti-centralist government, under the Democrat Davidović and consisting of Democrats, Slovene Populars, Moslems and a few dissident Radicals; it also had the support of the *HSS* and the Agrarians. In November, the Pašić-Pribičević alliance was recalled, and a general election was held in February 1925; the results were as follows:

Radicals	141
Croat Peasants (<i>HSS</i>)	67
Democrats	37
Independent Democrats	22
Slovene Populars	20
Moslem Organization	17
Agrarians	5
Others	6
	—
	315
	—

Although the government had only a small majority, it did not hesitate to act ruthlessly against members of the opposition and Radić, among others, was thrown into prison. In July 1925, however, an incredibly strange alliance was formed: the Radicals and the Croat peasants came together and Radić subsequently became Minister of Education. The trial marriage was a failure; Radić soon returned to the attack, and in April 1926 the *HSS* went over to the opposition. The Pasić-Radić coalition was succeeded by a coalition of Radicals and Democrats, supported by the Moslem Organization and the Slovene Populars.

The last elections of the democratic régime were held in September 1927, and the distribution of seats was as follows:

Government		Opposition	
	No. of Seats		No. of Seats
Radicals	112	Croat Peasants	60
Democrats	63	Independent Democrats	23
Slovene Populars	20	Agrarians	9
Moslem Organization	16	Germans	6
		Others	17
Total	211		115

The opposition was now in effect formed of *prečani*, or Serbs and Croats of the former Hapsburg lands. After the *Skupština* murders in 1928 (see p. 160) the whole of the Croat Peasant-Independent Democrat bloc withdrew from Belgrade; the Croat Peasants went to Zagreb, where they set up an extra-legal anti-parliament.

UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP AND THE REGENCY

In January 1929, King Alexander had assumed absolute power and appointed an ostensibly non-party cabinet with General Živković, commander of the Royal Guard, as prime minister. The king governed through ministers responsible only to him, and the *Skupština* was abolished.

Parliament was restored under the constitution of 1931, but the ban on all political association on a religious or regionalist basis and the conditions imposed by the electoral law of 1931 (see p. 330) made it not only difficult for many of the former parties to contest elections, but also led to the imprisonment of their leaders.

General Živković created the Yugoslav National Party (*ЈНС*) as the government party; it was unrepresentative and consisted of Serbs

and a few Slovene Liberals. The Peasant-Independent Democratic bloc, however, was able to present a united front in opposition and to maintain its organization, but the three principal Serbian parties (Radicals, Democrats and Agrarians) remained weakened.

After the murder of King Alexander (see p. 174), the *Skupština* was dissolved and Prince Paul ordered elections to be held in May 1935. The opposition list was headed by Dr Maček, the Croat leader of the Croat Peasant-Independent Democratic bloc, which was supported by the Agrarians, Democrats and Moslems. The government had a complete monopoly of all publicity and it exerted extreme pressure on voters; nevertheless, the voting was as follows:

Government—1,746,982. Opposition—1,076,346.

The opposition gained a moral victory of outstanding significance, but the machinery of the constitution gave them only 67 seats while the government obtained 301 seats. The majority of the opposition deputies belonged to the Croat Peasant-Independent Democratic group; they therefore boycotted parliament and assembled at Zagreb.

In June 1935, Prince Paul called upon Dr. Milan Stojadinović, a former Radical, to form a cabinet. Most of the official deputies transferred their allegiance to him, and in September a new party was founded—the Yugoslav Radical Union (*ЈРЗ*)—comprising Radicals, Slovene Populists, Moslems and a few dissidents from other parties. The committee of the Radical party, however, refused to support the prime minister, and the new party never had any solid Serbian foundation. Meanwhile, there had been increasing co-operation among the Serbs and Croats of the opposition, and in October 1937 they submitted a statement of their demands to Dr Stojadinović (see p. 180).

After the events at Munich in 1938, Dr Stojadinović decided to hold a general election and announced his willingness to negotiate with Dr Maček. The prime minister's supporters were the Slovenes, the members of the Moslem Organization and the small minorities of Germans and Magyars. The opposition, on the other hand, presented a medley of dissimilar groups brought together by their common hostility to the undemocratic régime: the Croat Peasant-Independent Democratic bloc, the Radicals, Democrats and Agrarians, and, strangest of all, the Yugoslav National Party of the dictatorship period. The *Zbor*, a small Serbian fascist party, led by Ljotić, entered the lists as a third group. The elections were held on 11 December 1938, and the results are analysed in the table on p. 344. The government gained 1,643,783 votes, and 1,364,524 votes

Banovina	Number of electors	Number of voters		Number of votes polled						Number of candidates			Number of deputies elected			
		Total	%	Stojadinović		Ljotić		Maček		Stojadinović	Ljotić	Maček	Stojadinović	Ljotić	Maček	Total
				No. of votes	%	No. of votes	%	No. of votes	%							
Dravska	320,361	216,610	67·61	170,257	78·60	1,127	0·52	45,226	20·88	34	29	78	29	—	—	29
Drinska	427,677	335,141	78·36	193,059	57·61	3,762	1·12	138,320	41·27	87	39	141	34	—	5	39
Dunavska	713,593	520,587	72·95	373,070	71·66	17,573	3·38	129,944	24·96	135	53	160	49	—	4	53
Moravska	428,630	326,778	76·24	247,243	75·66	817	0·25	78,718	24·09	84	41	114	40	—	1	41
Primorska	270,321	213,630	79·03	42,854	20·06	2,427	1·14	168,349	78·80	43	24	67	14	—	10	24
Savska	816,967	657,294	80·46	112,386	17·10	2,147	0·33	542,761	82·57	118	76	124	45	—	31	76
Vardarska	451,831	303,457	67·16	228,095	75·17	130	0·04	75,232	24·79	110	45	125	42	—	3	45
Vrbaska	295,063	213,184	72·25	108,068	50·69	1,205	0·57	103,911	48·74	59	26	94	20	—	6	26
Zetska	265,037	200,742	75·74	129,154	64·34	1,047	0·52	70,541	35·14	70	33	100	27	—	6	33
Belgrade (prefecture)	90,806	51,618	56·84	39,597	76·71	499	0·97	11,522	22·32	5	5	10	5	—	—	5
Candidates at head of official lists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2
The Kingdom	4,080,286	3,039,041	74·48	1,643,783	54·09	30,734	1·01	1,364,524	44·90	745	371	1,013	306	—	67	373

Source: *Annuaire statistique, Royaume de Yougoslavie, 1938-9, pp. 478-9 (Beograd, 1939).*

went to the opposition. Once again the opposition had gained a moral triumph.

In February 1939, Prince Paul, being anxious to come to terms with the Croats, dismissed Dr Stojadinović and called on M. Cvetković. Negotiations between the government and the Croats were soon begun and they ended in the *Sporazum* of August 1939 (see p. 183). A new coalition cabinet of the Yugoslav Radical Union, the Croat Peasant-Independent Democratic bloc and the Agrarians was formed with M. Cvetković as prime minister and Dr Maček as vice-president. The *prečani* thus returned to Belgrade after an absence of eleven years, but they had now lost the support of their former allies: the Democrats, who disapproved of the authoritarian methods of solving the Croat problem and the continuance of unparliamentary government; the Radicals, who criticized the *Sporazum* both as being unconstitutional and too generous to the Croats; the Yugoslav National Party, which was openly hostile to Croat autonomy. The Coalition cabinet of M. Cvetković remained substantially unchanged until the *coup d'état* of 27 March 1941 brought the Yugoslav Radical Union to an end (see p. 189). The government was then reconstructed on a more representative basis, with General Simović as prime minister and Dr Maček again as vice-premier. The cabinet thus formed was undoubtedly the most inclusive that Yugoslavia ever possessed and it consisted of two Serbian generals and Professor Slobodan Jovanović, the *doyen* of Serbian scholars, together with two Radicals, two Democrats, two Agrarians, two members of the Yugoslav National party, seven from the Croat Peasant-Independent Democratic bloc, two Slovenes, one member of the Moslem Organization and one Montenegrin Federalist.

LEGAL SYSTEM

The constitution of 1931 declares that judicial power in the state is exercised by the courts and tribunals, whose decrees and judgments are executed in the name of the king. Courts and tribunals are independent and they cannot be established except by law. Six juridical territories existed at the time of the union of the Southern Slavs in 1918, and the task of codifying a legal system out of the various practices prevailing in these territories formed the major problem facing the Ministry of Justice between 1920 and 1941. This

task was only partially completed when war broke out, but uniformity had at least been brought into the court system.

Courts

The lowest court is that of the *srez*, or district; every *srez* has its court in the chief town, and the territorial limits of its jurisdiction roughly correspond with those of the district. Occasionally, however, courts are established with jurisdiction over two or more districts, or, on the other hand, there may be more than one court in a particular district. In 1939, there were 391 *sreski sudovi*. The district court has jurisdiction of first instance in civil law cases and in certain commercial cases; it exercises summary jurisdiction in criminal cases involving minors and adults where the penalty does not exceed one year's imprisonment.

Next in the grade comes the regional court or *okružni sud*, which corresponds to the French *Tribunal de première Instance*. In 1939 there were 79 regional courts. The jurisdiction of the regional court is on the whole similar to that of the district court, but it deals with more serious cases; it also hears appeals against the decisions of the district court. The court consists of a presiding judge and two or four other judges. Actions not involving more than 30,000 dinars are heard in the first instance by one judge of the regional court, and cases concerned with the exploitation of mines situated within its territory also come before the regional court. The real property registers of the railways and public canals of the whole country are deposited with the regional court at Belgrade. All matters relating to the staff of each regional court and of the district courts subordinate to it are submitted to a council consisting of the president and two judges nominated according to seniority. The plenary sitting of the regional court in principle unites all the judges and its decisions are valid only if at least one half of its members are present. The powers of the court in plenary session are as follows: (i) on the demand of the Minister of Justice, or of a competent higher court, it may give judgement on a case hitherto unheard; (ii) it may draft proposals relating to judicial legislation; (iii) it may give directions to the lower courts on the application of the law. Judgement on maritime cases is given by the regional courts sitting at Sušak, Split and Dubrovnik; on these occasions, as well as when litigation involving mining concessions arises, an honorary judge, selected from commercial circles or from among maritime and mining experts, sits on the bench.

There are eight Courts of Appeal, sitting at Ljubljana, Zagreb, Split, Sarajevo, Novi Sad, Belgrade, Skoplje and Podgorica. Each Court of Appeal consists of a president and three or five judges; a vice-president can also be appointed. A special council of the Court of Appeal decides questions relating to the personnel of the court and of the regional and district courts which are subordinate to it.

There is one Supreme Court of Final Appeal (*Kasacioni Sud*) for the whole kingdom; it combines the judicial powers formerly exercised by the Court of Cassation at Belgrade and Novi Sad, the Court of Seven at Zagreb, the Supreme Tribunal at Sarajevo and the High Court at Podgorica. The court exercises judicial power in civil matters, in cases previously heard by the Court of Accounts, and in criminal and military matters. The Minister of Justice may request the court to express its opinion on new legislation or on amendments and modifications to existing laws; in both cases it has the right to submit proposals to the minister on its own initiative. The Court of Final Appeal consists of a president, two vice-presidents and sixty judges, together with the requisite number of secretaries and assessors; it is divided into two chambers, criminal and civil, with eleven judges forming a full bench in each, although judicial power is usually exercised by a bench of five judges. There must be a full bench for judgements on disputes of competence, whether between the civil or military administrative authorities and the judicial authorities, or between the administrative and ordinary courts; similarly, there must be eleven judges when questions of legal procedure, contradictory rulings and different legal interpretations are to be solved. The Court of Final Appeal meets both in ordinary and in extraordinary plenary sessions. At ordinary plenary sessions, which must be attended by at least half of all the judges, the court nominates the presidents of the regional and commercial courts, the presidents and judges of the Courts of Appeal and of the Supreme Court of Final Appeal; and it gives judgement in cases in which there is reason to annul the verdicts of the Courts of Appeal insofar as they affect the law of the country. At its extraordinary plenary sessions, the court pronounces judgement on special matters. The personnel committee of the court consists of six judges and a president; its terms of reference are almost identical with those of the subordinate courts. In addition, the court has its own disciplinary tribunal.

There are commercial courts, with the status of regional courts, at Belgrade and Zagreb; the law also provides for their being held in

other places. The records of commercial firms are deposited with the courts and cases of a commercial nature or cases relative to bills of exchange and to commercial bankruptcy are heard before them. The functions and personnel of the commercial courts are the same as those of the regional courts, except that the judge is assisted by a business man of standing chosen from an approved panel.

The chief government accounting authority is the Court of Accounts which examines, and finally approves, all state, banovinal and communal expenditure. The members of the court are elected by parliament from a list drawn up by the Council of State and comprising twice as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled. The president and one-half of the members must be qualified lawyers; the other members must have been Ministers of Finance or have acted for ten years as responsible officials in the Ministry of Finance.

Administrative Courts

Administrative courts are completely independent of the ordinary courts although they are essentially judicial organs. The supreme administrative court is the Council of State, which consists of thirty members appointed by the king on the proposition of the president of the Council of Ministers in the following way: one-half of the council is nominated by the king from a double-list submitted by parliament and the other half is elected by parliament from a double list of candidates proposed by the king. The Council of State, as supreme administrative court, tries actions arising out of administrative matters; appeals against decrees and ministerial decisions are heard by it as a Court of First Instance, but its decisions are not subject to further appeal. The council considers administrative acts which require its approval, and its recommendations must be executed within three months. Questions of conflict of jurisdiction between administrative authorities of the state and between state authorities and local authorities are submitted to the council, which also hears appeals against the decisions of the subordinate administrative tribunals. The Council of State is divided into sections, each consisting of five members; if any sections disagree over points of law, a plenary session is summoned and this must be attended by at least two-thirds of the members before a decision can be given. There are six administrative tribunals, sitting at Belgrade, Zagreb, Skoplje, Sarajevo, Dubrovnik and Celje: they are divided into sections each consisting of three judges. No member of either the

Council of State or of the administrative tribunals can be made answerable for his juridical acts without the sanction of the Council of State.

Since 1930, there have been special courts to apply Moslem religious law to family and succession cases; in 1939, there were 88 of these courts, 40 falling within the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeal at Belgrade and 48 within that of the Court of Appeal at Sarajevo. In addition, there are several religious courts; thus, in 1939, the Orthodox Church had one High Court and 21 diocesan tribunals, the Roman Catholic Church had 20 tribunals, the Old Catholics two, the Protestant Churches one, and the Jewish confessions three.

Legal appointments

Regulations governing the appointment of judges and their tenure of office are laid down in the constitution. Judges of the district courts are appointed by the Minister of Justice while judges of the Supreme Court of Final Appeal, of the Court of Appeal and of the regional courts are appointed by royal decree on the proposition of the Minister of Justice from among candidates selected by an electoral body. In principle, the judges of all courts are irremovable; they cannot be dismissed, transferred or removed from office against their will for any reason, except by a decision by the civil court or by a disciplinary decree of the Supreme Court of Final Appeal. A judge cannot be proceeded against for any action performed in the exercise of his judicial functions without the sanction of the competent Court of Appeal; in the case of members of higher courts, this sanction must be given by the Court of Final Appeal. A judge may remain in office until he has reached 70 years of age; before reaching that age he may not be placed on pension except on his own written request or unless he is suffering from physical or mental infirmity. Every Yugoslav citizen over the age of 26 years is eligible for appointment to the bench if he is qualified as a lawyer and can satisfy all the conditions imposed for the general civil service.

The French system of public prosecutors has been adopted in all courts above the district courts. They represent the executive power and ensure that the application of the law conforms to the criminal code. The nature and duties of the public prosecutor's office are controlled by a special law. Each court is free to examine and assess both the advice and the proposals of its public prosecutor, but it is in no way bound to accept them. The chief public prosecutor is

attached to the Supreme Court of Final Appeal and is equal in status to the vice-president of that court; he must be heard on all criminal matters which come before the court, and he gives an opinion on all sentences, but he does not exercise the functions of a public prosecutor except in cases of offences involving judges and the higher members of his own staff.

POLICE SYSTEM

The police system of Yugoslavia shows a lack of uniformity similar to that of several other administrative divisions in the state. Before 1918, public order and traffic control in Croatia and Slovenia were the responsibility of the communal police force, under the orders of the local mayor. In Serbia, on the other hand, while the mayor appointed a local constable (*pandur*) to maintain order within the commune, public order and security throughout the country were maintained by the gendarmerie; these were stationed in every market town, from which their patrols covered the country. After 1918, the gendarmerie system was extended throughout the kingdom, except in the towns of Croatia and Slovenia, which retained their own municipal police. In these towns the gendarmerie had no rights of search or arrest unless it was specially summoned by the mayor or the higher authorities. The gendarmerie is controlled jointly by the Minister for Defence and the Minister for the Interior; in matters of personnel, supplies and discipline it comes under the former, and in its administrative function it falls under the jurisdiction of the latter. It is organized on a military basis in regiments, battalions and companies.

During the dictatorship, a city police force was also established at Belgrade and it was largely modelled on the municipal police system of Croatia and Slovenia. Later, the municipal police throughout the country were brought under the complete control of the Ministry of the Interior, and the headquarters of the chief of police became a division within that department. The communal police, however, remain responsible to the mayor and, ultimately, to the Ban. In 1937, there were 34 'prefects' in charge of municipal police and 27 police commissioners. After the *Sporazum* of 1939, the administration of the municipal police in autonomous Croatia was transferred to a department of the banovinal authority.

The supervision of state prisons is undertaken by a department of

the Ministry of Justice; the prisons are situated at Begunj, Belgrade, Lepoglava, Maribor, Niš, Podgorica, Požarevac, Skoplje, Sremska Mitrovica, Stara Gradiška, Zagreb and Zenica.

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(ii) There is a lengthy description of government and administration in Yugoslavia before 1929 in C. A. Beard and G. Radin, *The Balkan Pivot: Yugoslavia* (New York, 1929).

(iii) The main provisions of the constitution of 1931 are summarized in *La Yougoslavie d'Aujord'hui* (Belgrade, 1935), and political reactions to it are briefly described in R. D. Hogg, *Yugoslavia* (London, 1944). The text of the constitution is published in D. Loutzitch, *La Constitution du Royaume de Yougoslavie du 3 Septembre 1931*. (Paris, 1933).

(iv) Statistical information for the main branches of government, administration and law appears in *Annuaire statistique, Royaume du Yougoslavie* (Beograd, annually).

Chapter VII

PUBLIC HEALTH

Health Administration and Services: Water Supplies: Vital Statistics: Infectious Diseases: Dietaries and Deficiency Diseases: Bibliographical Note

HEALTH ADMINISTRATION AND SERVICES

The public health problems that faced the administration of the newly-born kingdom of Yugoslavia at the close of the war of 1914-18 were very urgent and of very great complexity. Few if any countries had suffered more from the ravages of that war than had parts of Yugoslavia: the epidemic of typhus fever that decimated most of Serbia in the early years of the war was of unparalleled intensity; the incidence of malaria in many parts of the country had greatly increased; a very large proportion of the population was ill-fed and under-nourished. The various constituent elements in the population, with their different customs, religions and cultural standards, complicated public health rather more than other administrative problems. The Croats and the Slovenes had had a sanitary administration based on the old Austrian model. The Serbs had on the whole much lower sanitary standards. In many parts of the country there was no public health organization at all worthy of the name. In circumstances such as these, Yugoslavia was fortunate in finding a man equipped with indomitable energy and imagination coupled with technical ability to undertake the formidable task of creating a public health organization so urgently required. It was chiefly due to Dr A. Štampar that within a decade of the cessation of hostilities Yugoslavia had a service of preventive medicine almost unique of its kind and with many interesting modern features.

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, formed in 1930 by the amalgamation of two separate ministries which till then dealt with these two cognate activities, controls and directs all public health activity in Yugoslavia. It has three departments, concerned respectively with general administration, social welfare and public health. The Central Institute of Health at Belgrade and the State School of Public Health at Zagreb are technical departments of the ministry and directly under its control.

Local Administration

Each of the nine *banovine* or provinces into which the country is divided has its own local administration which in each case includes a department of social welfare and public health. In each province there is also an institute of hygiene with departments for epidemiology and bacteriology, chemistry, sanitary engineering and social medicine. Some of the institutes have special departments attached to them: thus the institutes at Skoplje and Split are equipped with facilities for combating malaria. The provincial institutes of hygiene direct public health work in the 346 districts (*srezovi*) and 3,901 communes (*opštine*), and undertake field work, investigations and research.

Each *banovina* has a chief medical officer with a staff of medical inspectors and in some cases pharmacy inspectors. Each district is required to appoint a medical officer of health whose work is supervised by the chief medical officer of the *banovina*. The authorities of all communes with populations in excess of 6,000 must appoint a communal medical officer whose health work is supervised by the district medical officer of health. Smaller communes are combined to form sanitary units; their medical officers are paid by the province. Most of these peripheral health units have midwives, health visitors and sanitary inspectors in numbers proportionate to the size and public health importance of the commune.

District Health Centres

Subordinate to the provincial institutes of hygiene there were at the end of 1935 forty-eight district health centres, *Zdrastevni Dom* (homes of preventive medicine). These contain laboratories, polyclinics and sections concerned with maternal and child welfare, school hygiene, school baths, venereal disease, tuberculosis, and health education. There were also 120 rural health centres furnished for the most part with a dispensary, quarters for a health visitor, first-aid facilities, a few beds for patients needing urgent treatment, a small health exhibition, and public baths. In addition there were a number of specialized centres concerned with malaria, or trachoma or some other urgent health problem of the area concerned.

Health Co-operatives

Progress had been made in the development of health co-operative societies in two provinces; at the end of 1935, there were upwards

of 100 such societies with a membership of 56,000 families. Their aim was to foster interest in and obtain public support for health work in rural areas. They established health centres similar to those organized by the state. Their work was assisted by state subsidies.

Medical Personnel

At the end of 1935 there were 5,130 registered practitioners of medicine in Yugoslavia, a very large proportion of whom devoted some of their time to preventive medicine. Thirty-three doctors were employed by provincial administrations. There were 401 district health officers. The institutes of hygiene and health centres employed 313, the State hospitals 364, and communes and health districts 1,197.

Medical education is modelled on the old Austrian system. A five years' course of study ending with an examination is followed by one year's work as a probationer in a hospital or other medical institution. An excellent feature of the general medical training was the amount of attention paid to preventive medicine and public health in which all students received practical as well as theoretical training. In Zagreb, the School of Public Health provided facilities for this aspect of medical education.

A school of nursing is attached to the Zagreb school, and nurses undergo a three years' course of training. Up to 1936, 482 students had attended the school, 212 of them passing the examination in public health. The school of nursing at Belgrade was subsidized partly by the Red Cross and partly by the Rockefeller Foundation. There were other training schools for nurses attached to the institutes of hygiene at Ljubljana and Skopje, but the effectiveness of their work was hindered by financial difficulties.

The Zagreb School of Public Health

The Zagreb School of Public Health, which was opened in 1927, is the central national institution for health education. Adjoining the school is an infectious diseases hospital with 120 beds, and nearby is the School for Nurses and Health Visitors, which is under the administrative control of the School of Public Health. The four departments of the Zagreb school are concerned with health surveys and endemic diseases; popular health teaching and health propaganda; sanitary engineering; and the preparation of biological products including sera for human and veterinary use, smallpox lymph and bacterial vaccines. The closely associated provincial institute of hygiene with its departments of bacteriology and

epidemiology and of chemistry, and attached tuberculosis dispensary and school polyclinics, assists in the courses of training organized by the School of Public Health.

The courses of training provided by the school included a course for public health officers, a course for school health officers, a course in social medicine for medical officers employed by social insurance institutions, and a course for medical probationers. The course of training for sanitary inspectors lasted one year. Special courses of hygiene for workers in the co-operative societies were organized from time to time.

A novel and most promising feature of the Zagreb school's activities were its peasants' classes, inaugurated in 1928. Up to the end of 1936, 632 peasants, 336 men and 296 women had received health training. The men's course was for five months, and that of the women for three months. Persons taking the courses stay in special living quarters near the school. The public health training that they receive fits them to collaborate in schemes designed to raise the hygiene and sanitary standards of the rural communities from which they come. The peasant students also receive some general instruction in geography, history, agriculture and economics. The results achieved in the improvement of village life were very apparent in many places. Short courses of instruction for peasant women in housekeeping combined with lessons in hygiene were also organized in the villages. Some thirty such courses were organized each year with an average attendance of fifteen women; the demand for the course came from the villagers themselves. The nurse in charge of the instruction was provided with free board and lodging by the village. Travelling health exhibitions visited Yugoslav villages, and cinema films and lantern slides prepared by the Zagreb school were skilfully used on a very large scale in popular health education. All Yugoslav cinemas were required by law to show a film dealing with public health at least once a week in the course of their ordinary programmes.

The village of Mraclin, 11 miles from Zagreb, was dirty, insanitary, and unhealthy. The School of Public Health secured the collaboration of its inhabitants and together they transformed the village. Protected water supplies, efficient sanitary installations, and paved walks were provided. Manure storage also received attention. Houses were reconditioned and a combined village community centre and health centre was built, with public baths adjoining. The transformed Mraclin served as a model of what a Yugoslav village might be like at no prohibitive cost, and as a practical demonstration of village

sanitation for students in the school. Other villages attempted to emulate Mraclin with noteworthy results.

The Central Institute of Health, Belgrade

The Central Institute of Health at Belgrade was created in 1926 by the amalgamation of the Bacteriological Station, the Laboratory for Tropical Diseases and the Institute of Social Medicine, all of which had been founded between 1918 and 1923. Its departments were concerned with bacteriology and epidemiology; biology and immunology; social medicine, vital statistics and propaganda; applied chemistry; parasitology; sanitary engineering; applied hygiene; and infectious diseases. Under the control of the Institute were two anti-tuberculosis dispensaries, a venereal disease dispensary, three school polyclinics, and a maternal and child welfare institute. The courses of instruction at the Central Institute are similar in scope and design to those in Zagreb, except that Zagreb has monopolized the special training for medical officers of health. There is a modern hospital for infectious diseases at Belgrade.

Hospitals and Sanatoria

Immediately after the war of 1914-18, there was a great shortage of hospitals in Yugoslavia. Croatia, Slovenia and the Vojvodina were relatively well equipped, but there were very few modern hospitals in Serbia and most of these were housed in borrowed buildings. Conditions since then have improved markedly, especially between 1933 and 1940, but the actual demand for hospital beds remained greater than the supply provided by new hospital buildings. A law of 1930 made provision for the erection of state, *banovina* and commune hospitals. The chief hospital in Belgrade is recognized as a state hospital; so, too, are all mental hospitals and hospitals situated in the administrative centres of the *banovine*. Other hospitals are considered as belonging to a *banovina* or to a commune or to private societies and individuals. The costs of treatment in cases of mental, venereal and certain infectious diseases are paid by the state, while the *banovine* and communes are responsible for the maintenance of their own hospitals and for other expenditure in respect of certain diseases as laid down by law.

In 1935, there were altogether 189 hospitals in the country, with a total of 21,612 beds; of these, 5,303 were in state hospitals, 12,519 in *banovina* or commune hospitals and 2,879 in private hospitals, belonging chiefly to orders of the Sisters of Mercy. The remaining beds were in hospitals maintained by health insurance organizations.

There were twelve sanatoria in 1938 as compared with one in 1914, but the number of beds available was inadequate to cope with the requirements of a country where tuberculosis is one of the most serious problems of public health (see p. 363). Considerable expenditure is involved in the foundation of sanatoria and in Yugoslavia this work was being hindered by lack of funds.

Sickness Insurance

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare controls the social insurance of all workers except miners and transport workers, who come respectively under the supervision of the Ministry of Mines and Forests and the Ministry of Communications. Agricultural workers and domestic servants employed in agriculture are not covered by insurance. About 700,000 persons, exclusive of members of their families, are compulsorily covered by law for sickness, invalidity and maternity insurance. In the event of illness, insured persons receive medical attention, drugs and treatment for a period of twenty-six weeks, and financial assistance up to two-thirds of their wages. Members of their families are entitled to medical attention for twenty-six weeks. Maternity benefits are also important: they include the services of a midwife, or in special cases, maternity-home facilities; an indemnity on the birth of a child; an allowance equal to two-thirds of a mother's wages for a period of six weeks before and six weeks after birth, as well as a small sum for nursing the child when the maternity benefit ceases. A member of an insured person's family is entitled only to medical assistance and to the birth indemnity.

The insurance funds come from the contributions of both employers and employees; there are no state grants. The employer pays the whole of the premiums for accident insurance, but sickness and maternity insurance premiums are evenly shared by employer and employee.

The Central Office for the Insurance of Workers, an autonomous organization under the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, is responsible for the administration of social insurance. Through seventeen local offices, and three special offices dealing with the insurance of shop employees, the Central Office maintains 140 general dispensaries, of which thirteen are equipped for physical-therapy services, fourteen children's polyclinics and twenty-six hospitals and sanatoria with 1,360 beds. It employs 1,686 doctors, 266 of them giving full-time service.

WATER SUPPLIES

In most parts of Yugoslavia, water supplies are normally adequate, but sources of supply vary from region to region and methods of storage and distribution are sometimes primitive when judged by

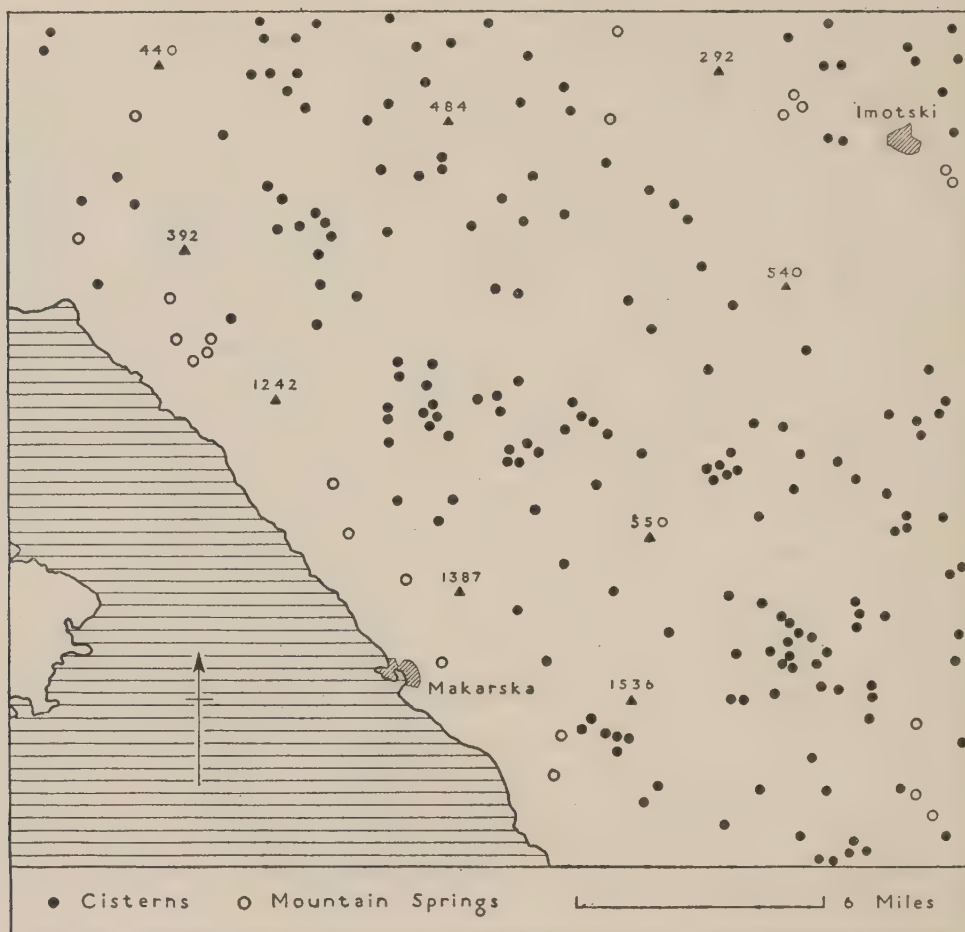


Fig. 69. The distribution and frequency of cisterns and mountain springs in a karstland area

Based on 1:100,000 G.S.G.S. Series 4396, Sheet 110: Makarska (1943).

This area is equal in size to that of the loess country shown in Fig. 70. Spot-heights are given in metres.

There is an absence of cisterns in the neighbourhood of Imotski, where the *polje* is liable to inundation. Elsewhere cisterns for rain-water storage provide the chief means of water supply.

Springs are clustered either along a narrow belt near the coast at a considerable altitude above it, or around the edge of the plain of Imotski *polje*. The belt of springs near the coast actually follows the upper margins of a zone of Flysch rocks, at their junction with the limestones that elsewhere make up the karst country.

western standards. In recent years, government plans were being devised for constructing private and public cisterns, for covering springs, for building conduits and for extending pipe distribution. Along the Adriatic coast and on the islands, water supply mainly

depends on springs and on the few large streams and also on rain-water stored in cisterns. In the coastal wells, the water has a brackish taste after spring and autumn rains. Conditions in the karstlands are obviously less favourable. There is little surface water except in some of the deeper valleys and in the *polja*, where there are also

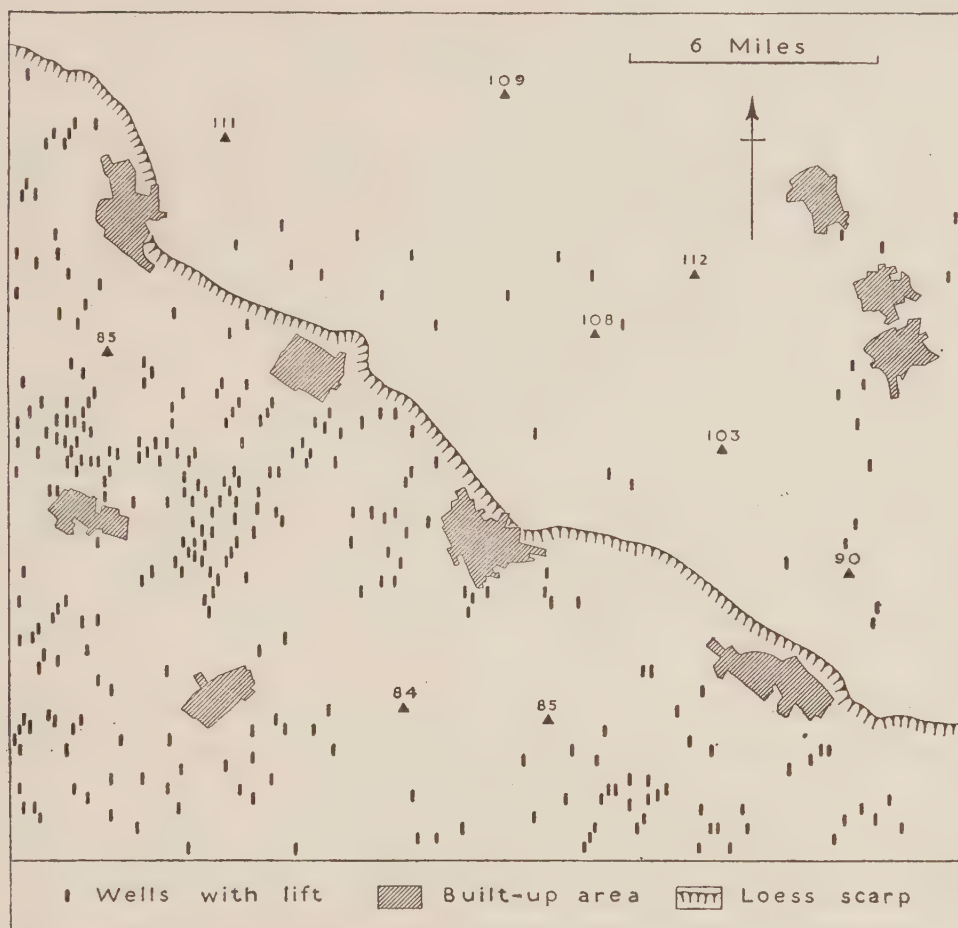


Fig. 70. The distribution and frequency of wells with water-lifts in the loess country

Based on 1:100,000, G.S.G.S. Series 4396, Sheet 36: N. Vrbas (1943).

This area is equal in size to that of the karstland shown in Fig. 69. It lies about 35 miles south-west of the Senta, and between the Danube and Tisa river valleys, Spot-heights are given in metres.

The figure shows parts of a low and a high loess terrace, separated by a scarp along the base of which the villages are located. The wells with water-lifts, which are the chief means of water supply in the loess country, are concentrated mainly on the lower loess terrace.

springs and wells (occasionally artesian). The chief sources of supply for the karst region as a whole, however, are the pits and cisterns in which rain-water is stored; these are owned both privately and communally (Fig. 69). Outside the karstlands, streams, wells and springs provide an adequate supply at all seasons for the Balkan region generally, but towards the east, and especially towards the

south-east (i.e. in the Macedonian country), a shortage is commonly experienced. In the hill country of Slavonia and in the plains of the Danube basin the water supplies are adequate apart from occasional late summer droughts; here streams and wells (artesian and otherwise) are the main sources (Fig. 70).

VITAL STATISTICS

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare is responsible for the collection and tabulation of demographic statistics. There is a central statistical bureau for the country in Belgrade and this also functions as the regional statistical bureau for Serbia, Montenegro, and the Vojvodina. Other provincial statistical bureaux were at Zagreb for Croatia and Slavonia, Ljubljana for Slovenia, Split for Dalmatia, and Sarajevo for Bosnia-Hercegovina. Statistical data for these bureaux are mostly supplied by priests. Published information regarding the causes of death for the country as a whole is very incomplete. The notification of infectious diseases was compulsory, but a large proportion of cases of many such diseases escaped notification.

Rates of Death, Infant Mortality and Births

The general death-rate, the infant mortality-rate and the birth-rate recorded in Yugoslavia for each year from 1925 to 1939 are shown in the following table:

Year	General death-rate per 1,000 population	Deaths of Infants under 1 year per 1,000 live births	Birth-rate per 1,000 population
1925	18.7	143	34.2
1926	18.8	143	35.3
1927	21.0	163	34.3
1928	20.4	150	32.7
1929	21.1	147	33.3
1930	19.0	153	35.5
1931	19.8	165	33.6
1932	19.2	167	32.8
1933	16.9	140	31.4
1934	17.0	150	31.5
1935	16.8	144	29.8
1936	16.0	137	28.9
1937	15.8	141	27.6
1938	15.6	144	26.7
1939	15.0	—	25.9

As in adjacent Balkan countries, the birth-rates are much higher than in the countries of western and central Europe; they are approximately double the birth-rates of England and Wales. The general death-rates are also high, some 50% higher than English rates, though recent pre-war years showed a noteworthy decrease. The infant mortality rates are almost triple the English rates and approximate those of other Balkan countries and of Spain and Portugal.

The following table shows that the vital statistics of Belgrade and Zagreb reveal a much higher standard of health conditions than those pertaining in the country as a whole:

	Belgrade			Zagreb			Jugoslavia		
	1936	1937	1938	1936	1937	1938	1936	1937	1938
General death-rate per 1,000	10.6	10.9	11.5	9.8	9.7	9.1	16.0	15.8	15.6
Infant mortality per 1,000 live births	90	96	106	90	98	100	137	141	144
Birth-rate per 1,000	13.9	13.9	14.2	14.5	13.6	13.1	28.9	27.6	26.7

The birth-rate for the country as a whole has fallen steadily in recent years, but the rural rates of increase of population are still very much higher than in western countries, and the highest birth-rates are reported from the lowest social scales. A fairly high price was paid directly for this high fecundity. It was reported that in 1933 10% of all deaths of females between the ages of 16 and 50 were attributable to puerperal causes.

Overcrowding in insanitary dwellings and improper feeding are potent causes of the high infant and child mortality rates. In the poor quarters of Belgrade, the infant mortality rate was seven times higher than in the richest sections of the town. About one-third of the deaths of children between the ages of 2 and 5 were due to diarrhoeal diseases.

INFECTIOUS DISEASES

The numbers of cases of infectious diseases notified in Yugoslavia during three recent years together with the number of deaths ascribed to each by the Health Authorities and by the Central Statistical Office respectively are set out in the table on page 362.

	1930			1937			1938		
	Cases	Deaths H.A.*	Deaths C.S.O.†	Cases	Deaths H.A.	Deaths C.S.O.	Cases	Deaths H.A.	Deaths C.S.O.
Typhus fever	775	50	—	942	56	—	686	42	—
Typhoid and Paratyphoid	7,390	686	4,168	6,649	488	4,231	5,612	488	—
Measles	10,235	160	2,329	4,827	41	1,260	—	—	—
Scarlet fever	5,881	114	1,178	4,175	47	982	3,377	69	—
Whooping cough	—	—	7,368	—	—	7,351	—	—	—
Diphtheria	9,995	909	3,799	10,110	664	3,714	7,731	639	—
Dysentery	1,796	208	3,675	2,358	148	4,260	1,278	116	—
Erysipelas	2,227	136	—	2,888	80	—	2,343	76	—
Poliomyelitis (acute)	110	—	13	81	—	11	84	15	—
Encephalitis lethargica	15	—	5	16	—	6	14	11	—
Cerebro-spinal meningitis	151	—	64	371	—	99	585	193	—
Anthrax	771	—	79	527	—	43	—	38	—
Rabies	—	—	32	—	—	32	—	27	—
Tetanus	452	—	207	468	—	178	475	208	—
Leprosy	8	—	4	5	—	2	9	4	—
Puerperal fever	124	—	48	138	—	42	131	45	—

* H.A. = Figures recorded by the Health Authorities

† C.S.O. = " " Central Statistical Office

The very great divergence between the figures for deaths recorded by the Health Authorities and the Central Statistical Office respectively makes comment difficult. A possible explanation is that a large proportion of the population in outlying villages is outside the range of skilled medical assistance. In such circumstances, the accuracy of diagnosis is subject to doubt. In this connexion a statement by M. Djouričić in a recent paper is significant; he found that the districts with most doctors report most cases of acute poliomyelitis.*

Tuberculosis

Though there is no complete statistical information regarding the incidence of tuberculosis, or any other disease, in the rural areas of Yugoslavia, numerous special reports indicate that tuberculosis is very rife in all parts of the country and is one of the most important causes of morbidity and premature death. The improvement of communications has led to a noteworthy increase of tuberculosis in remote provinces. For example, in 1936 there were published the results of an inquiry in a Croat village where all the diagnoses were made by a doctor. The village was relatively advanced in education and culture, and the levels of housing and nutrition were good, but the sick were not isolated. Tuberculosis tended to increase and mortality was high, as shown in the following table:

Tuberculosis Mortality per 100,000 according to Age in a Yugoslav Village

	0-5 years	6-11 years	12-14 years	15-24 years	25-39 years	60 years and over	All ages	Popula- tion
1915-1924	310	170	90	620	470	60	350	3,575
1925-1934	270	200	600	770	550	70	450	3,641

The rates of male mortality were higher than the female in all age groups other than 15-24, in which the female rates were almost double the male.

It has been estimated that in the rural areas of Yugoslavia as a whole, tuberculosis morbidity approximates 3.9 % of the population, and the tuberculosis mortality rate 281 per 100,000. In Belgrade and Zagreb, the rates are lower than these, but the following table

* M. Djouričić, *Bulletin de l'Office international d'Hygiène publique*, vol. 29, pp. 2141-7 (Paris, 1937).

shows that they are formidably high as compared, for example, with London:

Death-rates per 100,000

	Belgrade			Zagreb			London		
	1936	1937	1938	1936	1937	1938	1936	1937	1938
Tuberculosis of the Respiratory System	—	193·1	191·6	156·8	141·8	125·3	68·0	68·8	70·5
Other forms of Tuberculosis	—	37·1	43·1	23·1	21·5	24·6	8·8	8·6	8·5

The results of X-ray surveys of groups of persons in Belgrade were reported in 1938. Tuberculosis was diagnosed in 5·6 % of 800 tramway employees; in 6 % of 120 school servants, and in 6·7 % of 714 school teachers. Tuberculin testing of a number of school children gave positive reactions in 64 %. The percentage of persons found to be tuberculous in insured populations was 4·5 for females, and 4·1 for males.

Gross overcrowding is a factor of importance in determining the high tuberculosis incidence in both Belgrade and Zagreb. In 1934 in Belgrade, 86 % of the sufferers from tuberculosis were found to be sleeping in the same room as unaffected persons, and nearly half of these in the same bed as infants. In Zagreb, of 292 lodgings, 199 consisted only of a single room, and sleeping accommodation averaged 2·5 persons per bed.

Leprosy

Cases of leprosy and deaths from that disease figure each year in the Yugoslav returns, but their numbers are small. Over the most recent ten year period, for which figures are available, they were as follows:

	Cases	Deaths		Cases	Deaths
1929	13	4	1934	1	6
1930	7	3	1935	2	3
1931	7	8	1936	8	4
1932	7	10	1937	5	2
1933	3	2	1938	9	4

The disease is restricted chiefly to certain foci in Montenegro and Bosnia. It was reported that at the beginning of 1938, there were

only 25 lepers in Yugoslavia, and these were all isolated in a leper asylum in Sarajevo.

Malaria

As in other Balkan countries, malaria is a very important cause of sickness, and in some parts of Yugoslavia it is the most important cause. In certain areas, notably in the Vardar valley and in Dalmatia, malaria has been prevalent for a very long time. During the war of 1914-18, there was a remarkable intensification of infection in the endemic areas and a spread of the disease to other regions that had till then suffered but little, if at all. This specially applies to the subtertian or tropical form of the disease, caused by *Plasmodium falciparum*, the form which is responsible for almost all the mortality directly attributable to malaria. Previous to 1914, a case of *P. falciparum* malaria was very rarely seen in Belgrade; since then it has become a common occurrence. The average number of cases of malaria a year in the Vardar valley has been estimated to be 200,000, rather more than half of them being *P. falciparum* infections. The disease causes more than 5,000 deaths a year in the southern and south-eastern parts of the kingdom.

Dalmatia, apart from the coastal areas, suffers as much from malaria as any part of the country. The inhabitants are poor and live in primitive conditions. In 1921, about 25 % of its population were infected with malaria. An institute for the study of malaria was established at Trogir and anti-malaria stations, which have accomplished good work, are found in all the principal malarious districts. The institute at Split now carries on the work of the Trogir institute. All three forms of malaria are present, but the tropical or subtertian form is the most common. In the winter there is little malaria; in the spring there is an increase. The people have relatively little to eat at this season, and they are exhausted by work in the fields. These early spring cases are for the most part due to relapses or latent infections with *P. vivax*, the parasite of benign tertian malaria. The incidence of this form of the disease increases and reaches its maximum at the end of July. A second rise in malaria incidence reaches its height in October, *P. falciparum* infections being then most prevalent. Quartan or *P. malariae* infections also occur; they are most in evidence in the winter.

In South Serbia there is also a spring rise in malaria, due to relapses and latent infections, benign tertian in type. Fresh infections begin in June, both subtertian and benign tertian, and the

incidence attains its maximum in August. Quartan cases are few; they are most common in October. About half the infections in children under five years of age are benign tertian. At later ages the proportion of subtertian, or *P. falciparum*, infections increases. When anti-malaria work was started in 1921, the population was decimated by malaria. The institute of hygiene at Skoplje, with 50 sub-centres, undertook this work with quinine as the main weapon.

The anopheline mosquitoes that have been identified in Yugoslavia are *Anopheles maculipennis*, *A. superpictus*, *A. pseudopictus*, *A. bifurcatus* (*claviger*), *A. plumbeus* and *A. algeriensis*. Of these, *A. superpictus* and *A. maculipennis* are the only important vectors of malaria. *A. maculipennis* is not a homogeneous species, but is composed of different races, differing from each other in their habits and their capacity, or incapacity, of transmitting malaria. Morphologically these races can only be differentiated by an examination of their eggs. The races of *A. maculipennis* that are found in Yugoslavia are *messeae*, *typicus*, *elutus*, and *labbranchiae*.

A. superpictus is the dominant species in central and southern Dalmatia, Montenegro and the greater part of Macedonia where it probably plays the most important part in the maintenance of endemic malaria. It is essentially a hill species finding suitable breeding places in the beds of mountain streams, a fact which often makes it a difficult species to control. It begins to breed later in the season than does *A. maculipennis*; this explains the double peak which characterizes the annual curve of malaria incidence.

A. maculipennis, *typicus* and *messeae*, are the only anophelines found in large parts of Croatia and central Yugoslavia, *typicus* breeding often in slowly running water, and *messeae* in stagnant pools. These races of *A. maculipennis* in other parts of southern Europe are of little or no importance in the transmission of malaria, owing to their preference for animal rather than for human blood. In Yugoslavia, however, possibly owing to a deficiency of stabled domestic stock, they feed more readily on man, and are responsible for the transmission of the prevalent benign type of malaria. In parts of Dalmatia *A. maculipennis labbranchiae*, one of the chief vectors of malaria in southern Europe, is found together with the ubiquitous *A. m. typicus*, in areas with a high malaria endemicity. *A. maculipennis elutus* another very important transmitter of malaria is found in southern Dalmatia, and in the coastal belt of Montenegro, along with *A. m. messeae*. *A. m. elutus* displays a preference for brackish water in which to breed.

Previous to the present war, anti-malaria measures had achieved a considerable amount of success. The principal measures employed were free treatment of the sick; inspection of schools and the treatment of infected children; the distribution of *Gambusia*, a mosquito larva eating fish, in certain breeding places; the elimination of mosquito breeding places, and dusting with Paris green such breeding places as could not be drained or filled. These measures were in force from the middle of April until the end of October each year. It is certain that the upheaval caused by the present war will leave as an aftermath a greatly increased malarial endemicity.

Leishmaniasis

Kala-azar, the visceral form of leishmaniasis, is a widespread disease in most countries bordering the Mediterranean. It is a disease of considerable antiquity but it is only some twelve years since the first indigenous case was discovered in Yugoslavia. Since then numerous cases have been reported in the region lying between Lake Skadar and the Adriatic coast, and it would seem that the disease is widely distributed both in Dalmatia and the coastal region of Montenegro. It is not however a disease of great public health importance. The causal agent of the disease is *Leishmania donovani*, a minute protozoal parasite that is transmitted from host to host by a sandfly. The epidemiology of the disease in Yugoslavia has not been extensively studied, but investigation has shown that wherever cases of kala-azar were found, the presence of the sandfly *Phlebotomus major* could always be demonstrated. This is almost certainly the vector as it is in Greece and Crete. In the Mediterranean form of kala-azar very young children are most commonly affected but adult cases appear to be almost as common in Yugoslavia as infant cases. As in other Mediterranean countries, the dog is the reservoir of infection. In Split, 7 to 8 % of the dogs examined were found to be infected, though for the most part they showed no clinical signs of the disease. The parasites are often very numerous in macrophages circulating in the blood vessels of the infected dog's skin, and are thus readily accessible to the sandfly.

Sandfly Fever

Sandfly fever is a fever of very short duration, and very rarely, if ever, does it terminate fatally. It is incapacitating, however, while it lasts, and an epidemic among troops might be embarrassing to military operations.

The infecting germ of sandfly fever is transmitted from man to man by the bite of the sandfly *Phlebotomus papatasi*. The disease was studied some forty years ago in Mostar in Hercegovinia, where it was very prevalent; it is also very widespread along the coast and in the Vardar valley. According to one investigator, sandflies are to be found in greater number, and in greater variety, in South Serbia than anywhere else in Europe. Cases of sandfly fever have been reported, too, from Bosnia and Montenegro. There is no statistical information regarding the number of cases occurring annually, since sandfly fever is not a notifiable disease. It has been reported, however, that, in the endemic areas, nearly everyone who is not protected by a previous attack falls a victim; thus in any given year the morbidity is largely confined to children and foreigners. An attack of the disease appears to confer a solid and lasting immunity, at any rate among the indigenous population.

Outbreaks of sandfly fever are confined to the warmer months of the year. Adult sandflies die in the winter, but their larvae survive. Sandflies are most numerous and most annoying in warm, moist, cloudy weather. They do not fly far from their breeding places. Crannies in stone walls, heaps of stone or rubble, or heaps of loose damp rubbish may provide suitable breeding places for *P. papatasi*.

Typhus Fever

Louse-borne epidemic typhus is one of the important endemic diseases of Yugoslavia. It will be recalled that four months after the invasion of Serbia by Austria in 1914, an epidemic of typhus flared up with an intensity unparalleled in the annals of that disease. The infection travelled with the wandering population and with moving troops, and it was estimated that a fifth of the total population was attacked by the disease which caused some 135,000 deaths in that population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

In the interval between 1918 and 1939, there was no large scale epidemic of typhus in Yugoslavia, but the disease persisted in endemic form. The annual number of cases notified never fell below 100, and it exceeded 1,000 on five occasions. In 1939, the Drina *banovina* was the chief focus of the disease; in this province 242 cases were reported, the total for the kingdom being 398. In all other provinces an appreciable regression was being maintained but existing conditions can hardly be other than very favourable to the spread of louse-borne infections.

Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers

Typhoid and paratyphoid fevers appear to be widely prevalent throughout the kingdom. The number of cases notified annually by the Health Services is not excessive, but the deaths ascribed to these fevers by the Central Statistical Office indicate a higher prevalence than in any other European country. The figures thus recorded for 1936 and 1937 are equivalent to a typhoid and paratyphoid death rate in each of these years of approximately 27 per 100,000; corresponding rates for some other countries in these two years were: England and Wales 0.6 and 0.5; Italy 8.9 and 11.8; Hungary 9.9 and 10; Roumania 6.8 and 8; Czechoslovakia 6 and 6.3 per 100,000.

The typhoid and paratyphoid death-rates of Belgrade and Zagreb compare favourably with those of other southern European towns. For 1936, 1937 and 1938, the rates in Belgrade were 4.3, 6.1, 3.1 per 100,000, and in Zagreb 0.9, 6.0, 3.3.

Dysentery

Both bacillary and amoebic dysentery occur in Yugoslavia, but published returns do not permit any just appraisal of the extent of their prevalence. The Health Authorities reported cases and deaths as follows: 1936, 1,796 and 208; 1937, 2,358, and 148; 1938, 1,278 and 116. On the other hand, the Central Statistical Office ascribed 3,675 deaths to dysentery in 1936 and 4,260 in 1937.

A few cases of amoebic dysentery were recognized in Yugoslavia some fifty years ago, but the first written description is dated 1911. The early endemic foci were in two villages near Šibenik in the coastal region, where the infection was presumed to have been imported from Indo-China by returning Yugoslav seamen. During the war of 1914-18, troops engaged on the Salonica front contracted the infection and spread it widely in the kingdom with the result that there are numerous endemic foci chiefly in the coastal region and in the Vardar valley. Sarajevo, Podgorica, Metohija and Split are mentioned as localities in which the disease occurs. The number of cases that occur is not large, but it tends to increase. Between 1928 and 1932 seventy-two cases were treated in the state hospital at Šibenik. In the same hospital between 1923 and 1933, no less than eighty-six patients were operated upon for amoebic abscess of the liver, a figure which indicates both a high incidence of amoebic dysentery and inefficient treatment of the disease.

Brucellosis

The form of undulant fever caused by the invasion of the body by the minute bacterium *Brucella melitensis*, which was formerly known as Malta fever, occurs in Yugoslavia, but its distribution appears to be very restricted and very few cases have been reported. It is a disease with a low case mortality-rate, but the fever may be very prolonged and very debilitating. Goats and sheep, especially the former, are the reservoirs of infection of *Br. melitensis*, and infection is contracted either by drinking the milk of an infected animal or by close contact with such animals. Infected goats and sheep have been found in the southern part of Yugoslavia and on the island of Hvar where eight human cases have been reported. It would seem possible that the disease is not quite as rare as the paucity of notified cases indicates, but it is a disease that is easily overlooked. For those not in close contact with goats and sheep, the boiling of the milk is a safeguard against infection.

DIETARIES AND DEFICIENCY DISEASES

In the towns of Yugoslavia animal foodstuffs are largely eaten, but in rural areas vegetable foods form the bulk of the diet. In the villages bread is the basis of the diet, the bread being made of whole-grain wheat, maize, barley or rye. In the winter, there is usually little to eat except bread and dried beans; the addition of meat on feast days and Sundays, is common if the means of the peasant permit. After Christmas, there is frequently a shortage of wheat and the peasant has to buy maize and to kill his remaining pigs; the scanty diet at this season consists almost entirely of bread and pork. Milk and eggs are scarce at this time of the year, and what is available is generally sent to market. As the spring advances the diet becomes worse, often consisting of bread and beans only, and at this season cases of deficiency diseases are commonly seen. The two fasts of six weeks each before Christmas and Easter make matters worse. In general the rural diet in Yugoslavia is gravely deficient in the winter and spring in animal foodstuffs, fruits, fresh vegetables, and even in energy value.

In summer, as soon as fresh fruit and vegetables are available, the health of the rural population markedly improves, and in the autumn their diet is good. Milk, cheese and meat may be eaten daily and fruit and vegetables are abundant; the autumn is the season of the hardest physical work for the peasants.

There are, of course, local differences in dietary customs. In mountainous villages, a good deal of milk and cheese may be eaten, but very little meat. In the plains, the milk may be sold or consumed in the home. In sea-coast villages and in villages near towns the villagers can obtain employment from time to time in the towns and market their produce there. In such villages, macaroni and white bread are often eaten in place of the more nutritious whole-grain bread that is eaten in villages farther afield. In Montenegro, Hercegovina, Dalmatia, Bosnia and in parts of Croatia and Slovenia, insufficient cereals are grown even for the modest needs of the local peasant population. Potatoes are grown to a very limited extent. In these areas state assistance in the form of cereals is provided each year in return for labour on roads, bridges and the like. Those who cannot work are given cereals free of charge.

A questionnaire was sent to doctors in rural areas in all the provinces of Yugoslavia in answer to which 2,371 cases of deficiency diseases were reported from all parts of the kingdom. Of these 1,870 were said to be due to vitamin D deficiency, 154 to vitamin C deficiency, 103 to vitamin B deficiency and 53 to vitamin A deficiency. In Bosnian villages mild scurvy is often seen in the spring. In Serbia cases of night-blindness occur about Christmas-time, and in the spring there are cases of rickets, scurvy, nutritional anaemia amongst children, and xerophthalmia and keratomalacia among new-born infants. In the maize-eating parts of the kingdom cases of pellagra occur, but the incidence of this disease is said to be lower than in the maize-eating areas of Roumania.

The sugar consumption in Yugoslavia is one of the lowest in Europe; in 1935-6 it was only 5.4 kilogrammes per head. There is a state duty on sugar and the retail price is consequently high.

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Appendix I

CONDITIONS BETWEEN APRIL 1941 AND JUNE 1944

The Partition of Yugoslavia: Social Conditions: Forces of Resistance

The capitulation of the Yugoslav High Command on 17 April 1941 marked the beginning of one of the most tragic chapters in the history of the Southern Slavs. Since that date, the kingdom of Yugoslavia has been dismembered with a calculated thoroughness; Serbs, Croats and Slovenes alike have endured persecution and cruelty; social and political differences have been ruthlessly exploited by the enemy and the relationships between diverse groups within the country have often been extremely confused. The resistance of the Yugoslavs, however, has not been broken; on the contrary, it is continually growing and gaining in strength, despite the repressive measures of the enemy and the effects of bitterness and misunderstanding among the various movements of resistance inside the kingdom.

THE PARTITION OF JUGOSLAVIA

The speed and efficiency with which the Axis powers proceeded to dismember Yugoslavia clearly indicate that their schemes had long been prepared. Five countries have shared in the dismemberment of the kingdom—Germany, Italy, Hungary, Albania and Bulgaria; and there have been no less than eleven areas of partition (Fig. 71). The results of this dismemberment can conveniently be described by reference (a) to the annexations made by each of the five hostile states and (b) to the boundaries of the 'kingdoms' of Croatia and Montenegro, and of Serbia and the Banat.

Germany

Slovenia. Germany has annexed two-thirds of Slovenia, consisting of the areas that had before 1918 been part of Carinthia and Styria, together with the northern half of Carniola. This territory was incorporated in the *Reich* on 1 October 1942.

The annexed portions of Carniola and Carinthia are administered as integral parts of the *Reichsgau Kärnten* and lower Styria as part of the *Reichsgau Steiermark* (Styria). These are two of the seven *Reichsgaue* into which Austria has been divided, and they are directly under the *Reich* government. The administrative machinery in each annexed area is under the control of a Chief of Civil Administration, who is directly responsible to Hitler. In each case, this official holds the two offices of *Statthalter* (Governor) and *Gauleiter* (Party Leader) in the *Reichsgau* to which the area is attached; for the territories attached to the *Reichsgau* of Carinthia, the civil administrative chief is Friedrich Rainer, and Siegfried Uiberreither for those attached to that of Styria. There are seven administrative districts (*Kreise*) within German Slovenia, and officials have been drawn from the

two Nazi organizations—the Styrian *Heimatbund* and the Carinthian *Volksbund*.

Italy

Slovenia. On 3 May 1941, Southern Slovenia was annexed by Italy to form an integral part of the kingdom of Italy and to be known as the *Provincia Lubiana* (Ljubljana). The frontier between this 'province' and



Fig. 71. The dismemberment of Yugoslavia, 1941

Based on official sources.

German-annexed Slovenia was demarcated in July 1941 (Fig. 72); leaving the Yugoslav-Italian frontier south of Žiri (Sairach), on the Idria-Zora plateau of the Julian *Karst*, it runs approximately due east, skirting the northern suburbs of Ljubljana, and then approaches the Sava, and follows the hills that lie parallel with the river, until it reaches the boundary between the *banovine* of the Drava and Croatia (Fig. 68), near Kalje, west of Zagreb.

In April 1941, a High Commissioner was appointed for the Slovene territories occupied by Italian troops; Fascist officials were moved in from Gorizia and Italianization was begun almost immediately. After the formal annexation of 'Ljubljana' to Italy, a Council (*consulta*) was set up to assist the High Commissioner; its fourteen members were 'chosen from the productive categories of the Slovene population'. All official documents were

drafted in both Italian and Slovene; the Statute and other laws of Italy were published in Ljubljana, and measures were taken to co-ordinate them with the existing legislation. In February 1942, a separate Federal Secretary was appointed for the province and on 15 April 1943 a bill embodying a constitution for the province was approved in Rome. Communal administration



Fig. 72. The dismemberment of Yugoslavia in the west, 1943

Based on official sources. S. Serbia.
See Fig. 40 for comparison with the Treaty of London boundaries, 26 April 1915.

was transferred to a considerable extent to Italians; the police in Ljubljana were increasingly recruited from among Italians. A few Slovene policemen were left for point-duty but there were none in the Security Service. The gendarmerie in the rural communes became partly Slovene and partly Italian, but the officer in charge was always an Italian.

Croatia. On 18 May 1941 an agreement was signed between Italy and 'Croatia' (see p. 377) by which the former annexed the districts of Sušak (re-named Borgonovo), Kastav, Čabar and part of Delnice, near Fiume, with the boundary reaching the coast south-east of Bakar (Fig. 72). Together

with the islands of Krk and Rab and other smaller islands in the Gulf of Quarnero, these districts were administered as part of the province of Fiume (Carnaro), and the prefect of that province became responsible for civil administration.

Dalmatia. Under the terms of the agreement of May 1941, a new Italian *governatorato* was created, consisting of (i) the length of coast from Prevlaka and the southern side of Novigrad bay as far as Split, including the districts of Biograd, Benkovac, Šibenik and Split; (ii) all the islands lying off the coast, with the exception of Pag, Brač and Hvar; (iii) the mainland coast from a point between Cavtat and Vitaljina (west of Gruda), north-west to the Montenegrin frontier on Mt. Orjen and then south to Budva including the district around the Gulf of Kotor (Fig. 72).

Reorganization in Dalmatia was undertaken in April 1941 by the Federal Secretary of the province of Zara, who was appointed Civil Commissioner for the occupied region of Dalmatia. In May 1941, Giuseppe Bastianini was appointed head of the new *governatorato*, which included the provinces of Zara, Split (Spalato) and Kotor (Cattaro). The governor resided at Zara and exercised the powers formerly held by the Civil Commissioner; he derived his authority directly from the Duce. The Italians intended that the administration of Dalmatia should become entirely assimilated to that of Italy, and Italian institutions were set up in various places. Many Yugoslav officials in administrative and economic posts were dismissed, and were replaced by Fascists. A Provincial Council of Corporate Economy was installed at Split, with four departments (agriculture and forestry, industry, commerce and shipping) and 112 members.

The stated policy of the Italians was to 'liquidate definitely all the ephemeral organization of the Yugoslav régime'. Local communal administration was to be entrusted to Italians and was gradually to be assimilated to the Italian system of local administration. The local police system, however, remained partly in the hands of Dalmatian people, but *carabinieri* were also introduced.

Hungary

In April 1941, Hungary seized the Prekomurje, Bačka and Baranja, while the Medjumurje was annexed in July of that year. These districts were formally incorporated as Hungarian territory in December 1941, and they are now collectively known as the Delvidék. The frontier between Hungary and Croatia was settled in July 1942; it runs from the confluence of the Tisa with the Danube, north-west along the Danube and the Drava as far as the German frontier. The Medjumurje was excluded from consideration since the Croat government does not recognize the Hungarian annexation of this region.

In all these areas, measures were at once taken to enforce the submission of the inhabitants and all Yugoslav officials were dismissed. In the Bačka region, electoral rights were granted to the Serb minority and they are represented in the Hungarian parliament. The Serb Orthodox Bishop of Novi Sad sits in the Hungarian Upper House.

Albania (Fig. 71)

The districts of Debar, Struga, Gostivar and Tetovo were occupied by the Italians and were transferred for administrative purposes to the government of Albania in May 1941. On 12 August 1941, these districts were

formally annexed by Albania. Since that date, the Albanian frontiers have been further extended both to the north-east and to the north-west. To the north-east, Albania has taken the districts of Gusinje and Plav, the plain of Metohija (including Peć), a considerable part of the plain of Kosovo, the upper Vardar valley (including Tetovo) as far as a point north-west of Skoplje, the basin of the Crni Drim from Debar to Lake Ohrid (including Struga) and the northern and eastern shores of Lake Prespa. This north-eastern frontier now starts from a point slightly south-west of Vranje and runs west almost to Mitrovica, leaving Priština to Albania but Vučitrn and the Trepča mines to Serbia; thence it continues westwards, north of Peć, Gusinje and Plav.

To the north-west, Albania was given a small part of the plain of Podgorica (extending as far west as Plavnica), together with the district of Ulcinj (Dulcigno), south of Bar (Antivari).

The territory annexed from Yugoslavia has been administered in four prefectures, namely those of Peć (Peja), Priština, Prizren and Debar (Dibra), with sub-prefectures at Djakovica, Orahovac, Suhareka, Tetovo and Rostuše. Albanian officials appointed by the government at Tirana were made responsible for administration in these districts; they were assisted by Italian advisers from the Fascist party. The Italians introduced Fascist institutions in addition to the state machinery, but a marked scarcity of qualified administrators has made efficient administration an acute problem.

Bulgaria

The western boundary of the territory annexed by Bulgaria runs from Mt. Midžor on the Stara Planina, passes between Pirot and Bela Palanka, thence continues east of Grdelica and meets the new Serbo-Albanian frontier west of Vranje. The eastern shore of Lake Ohrid, including the town of Ohrid, as far east as the village of Peštani was ceded to Bulgaria by an agreement with Italy in April 1943. East of a point between Bitolj and Florina, the southern frontier remains as it was before April 1941.

Since January 1942, Bulgarian military forces have occupied the area between Niš and Kragujevac, and a free zone has been granted to Bulgaria in the port of Bar.

In April 1941, a Bulgarian prefect was established at Skoplje. Bulgarian administration was gradually extended throughout the occupied area and three *oblasti* (see p. 325) were formed. In the north, the districts of Nišava, Lužnica and Caribrod, in the former Moravska *banovina* and the district of Bosilgrad, in the Vardarska *banovina*, have been incorporated, under the name of Morava, within the administrative region of Sofia. To the south, the greater part of the Vardarska *banovina* has been formed into the new regions of Skoplje and Bitolj, and these are collectively called Macedonia.

The Independent State of Croatia

On 16 April 1941, Pavelić formally inaugurated the independent state of Croatia and the boundaries of the new state were gradually defined (Fig. 72). On the north the frontier follows the Drava and the Danube, as far as the confluence of the Sava with the Danube opposite Belgrade. To the west, the boundary with German and Italian-annexed Slovenia was defined in May 1941; it follows the boundary of the former Dravska *banovina* (Fig. 68) from its junction with the Drava, south-west to a point on the Kupa, north

of Delnice, thence to the sea between Bakar (Buccari) and Kraljevica (Porto Ré). Along the Adriatic coast, Croatia has retained the seaboard from south of Bakar (east of Sušak) as far as Novigrad inlet, as well as the island of Pag and the Velebit (Podgorski) Channel. Farther south, the coast from slightly south-east of Split to a point slightly beyond Cavtat (including the ports of Metković and Gruž), as well as the islands of Brač and Hvar, belong to Croatia. The frontier-line re-enters the mainland between Cavtat and Gruda and runs north-west until it joins the Montenegrin frontier at Mt. Orjen; from this point northwards, it follows the pre-1918 frontier between Montenegro and Austria-Hungary (Fig. 39), then, after crossing the Lim at Uvac, it goes east of Višegrad and follows the 1912 boundary of Bosnia and Serbia (Fig. 26) to the Drina, thence along the right bank of the river to its confluence with the Sava, and thereafter along the Sava to its confluence with the Danube (thus enclosing the region of Srem within Croatia).

Until September 1943 the 'Independent State of Croatia' (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*) was a monarchy under King Tomislav II (the Duke of Spoleto, who later became Duke of Aosta) who preferred, however, to remain in Italy. In practice, Ante Pavelić, the *Poglavnik* (or 'Leader'), assumed all power on the Führer-principle and governed through a cabinet and a 'council of state' whose functions were to 'draw up all decrees, regulations, orders of proceedings, instructions and authoritative decisions of general significance'. At the beginning of 1942, Pavelić revived the *Sabor* (see p. 319); surviving members of the former Croatian 'Diet' and several members of the Peasant Party were invited to attend, but most of the latter either refused or merely ignored the summons; indeed the Peasant Party, on the whole, has consistently refused to collaborate with Pavelić, who is now 'Head' of the state.

Administrative inefficiency has been the main feature of the Poglavnik's rule. The state is divided into 23 prefectures (*velike župe*), which are further divided into 142 districts (*kotari*) and cities. The districts are divided into administrative communes (*općine*). Members of the *Ustaša* party have been appointed heads of most of these administrative units; and the police are under the control of the prefect (*Veliki Župan*). The Ustaš Security Service has taken over the duties of the Yugoslav gendarmerie.

In 1942, the civil administration of the coastal regions was transferred from the Italians to the Croat government, but the Italians retained control over three regions: the Dubrovnik area, part of south-west Bosnia and part of the Lika district crossed by the Ogulin-Split railway.

Alongside of the local administrative officials, the *Ustaša* party has its own organization: there is a *stožernik* in the chief town of each prefecture, a *logornik* in each district and a *tabornik* in each commune; each of these has four to six assistants. The *Ustaša* representatives are not state officials but they are entrusted with the task of developing opinions agreeable to the régime among the population, and they have not been without influence over the state officials.

Although the central government of Croatia is nominally that of an independent state, with the usual departments of government, final decision on all important civil matters rest with the German minister to Croatia. In Zagreb the Gestapo, too, is said to operate freely, and German control has extended to several spheres of civil and economic administration. The German *Volksgruppe*, with its headquarters at Osijek, is organized on the 'leadership principle' and forms a widely autonomous state within a state (see p. 240).

Montenegro

After 17 April 1941, Italian control was extended to Montenegro and the creation of the 'kingdom' of Montenegro was proclaimed on 12 July. Its boundaries are in general the same as those of the kingdom of Montenegro in 1914 with the exception of the advance of the Albanian frontier to the south-east. Its seaboard is about 20 miles long, extending from Budva Bay to a point between Bar and Komina.

An Italian Civil Commissioner was appointed to Montenegro in May 1941 and delegates were nominated to represent him at the ten most important centres in the country. The Civil Commissioner was to be assisted by a consultative council of five Montenegrins, three of them being former Montenegrin ministers.

The 'National Assembly' which met at Cetinje on 12 July 1941 and proclaimed Montenegro to be an independent constitutional monarchy, also declared that 'the Montenegrins, grateful for the liberation of their country by the Italian Armed Forces . . . decide to associate the life and destinies of Montenegro with those of Italy'. The King of Italy was therefore requested to designate a regent who should issue a constitution for the country. The throne, however, has remained vacant.

In August 1941, it was announced that the Italian military authorities would retain control of administration in Montenegro and that, as was not done in other former Yugoslav territories occupied by the Italian army, the appointment of civil commissioners would be terminated. At the end of November 1941, a 'Governor's Council' was created for Montenegro. The governor was to be appointed from the Italian army and to have his headquarters at Cetinje; he was to command the Italian troops in the country and to control all civil administration through a subordinate civil commissioner. The lira replaced the dinar as currency. It appears that the local authorities in the towns and villages are Montenegrins. In May 1943, a delegation of the Fascist party was attached to the government of Montenegro. It was stated that the country was to be divided administratively into fifteen districts, but in fact the Italians had hardly any control outside the towns of Cetinje, Nikšić and Podgorica and the administrative units and general machinery remained the same as when Montenegro formed part of Yugoslavia. After the Italian collapse, the Germans set up a puppet 'National Administration' of Montenegrins.

Serbia

Since the German occupation in April 1941, Serbia has been reduced to even narrower frontiers than those existing before the First Balkan War (Fig. 26).

The northern and western frontiers are those of 1912—to the north, they are marked by the Danube and the Sava, to the west by the Drina. The eastern, south and south-western frontiers have been modified by the Bulgarian and Albanian annexations.

On 30 April 1941 the German commander-in-chief in Serbia established an administrative council and commissioned a number of Serbs as heads of administrative departments to co-operate with the German command. The members of this council were drawn mainly from the Stojadinović and Ljotić political groups (see pp. 342-5). The effective ruler of Serbia, under the commander-in-chief, however, was Neuhausen, the former German Consul-General at Belgrade, who, as 'Economic Dictator', was

entrusted with the reconstruction of Serbian economy. In August 1941, a Serbian government was formed under General Nedić, the former Minister of War (see p. 186), to enable 'the German troops to relinquish the tasks which are the concern of the Serbs themselves, if they are willing to co-operate in reconstruction'.

But the central government of Serbia is not that of an independent state. The country is officially the *Gebiet des Militärbefehlshabers Serbiens* and the supreme authority is that of the G.O.C. for the whole area of Serbia. Responsible to him are the head of the Military Administration (*Chef des Verwaltungsstabes beim Befehlshaber in Serbien*) and the economic controller (*General-bevollmächtigter für die Wirtschaft in Serbien*). The Serbian government is under the general control of these supreme German authorities and it has no Ministers for Foreign Affairs or Defence.

The head of the military administration works in close collaboration with the military general headquarters and with the Serbian ministers. In the provinces, Feldkommandants, Kreiskommandants and Ortskommandants held key positions in civil administration and they serve both the military and the civil authorities. Through the Serbian government, the *Chef des Verwaltungsstabes* has control over the whole system of local government. The former *banovine*, of which none has been wholly contained within the reduced Serbia, were abolished and the country was divided into fifteen *okrugi* (counties). Each of these is further divided into about six *srezovi* (see p. 335). The head of each county is the *načelnik* who is assisted by officials representing the different departments of government.

The economic controller is in charge of the organization of the main branches of economy within the country. There are German commissioners for industry and raw materials, for bank-note circulation and for clearing; in addition, German officials are attached to the most important economic concerns, such as banks, companies and insurance societies.

The Gestapo has established headquarters at Belgrade, and is divided into six sections. In December 1941, the Serbian State Guard (*Srpska Državna Straža*) was instituted; the various forces of police were thus consolidated into a single service with urban, rural and frontier divisions. This State Guard is under the control of both the Ministry of the Interior (through the chief of State Security) and the chief of the Gestapo in Serbia.

Under the legal system established by the occupying power, the courts of the German armed forces apply German law and have the right to punish any violation of German laws. No specification of offences has been promulgated and the German courts may punish any act they consider harmful to German interests. They have also jurisdiction to try offences committed before the occupation.

The Banat

Since April 1941, the Banat (see p. 71), though nominally part of Serbia, has been economically and administratively separated from it. This territory extends between the Tisa, the Danube and the Roumanian frontier (Fig. 71).

Immediately after April 1941, the Banat came provisionally under German military control and at first it had no economic or even postal connexion with the rest of Yugoslavia. Entry into the region from Serbia was allowed only with the permission of the German police president at Veliki Bečkerek. The large and prosperous German *Volksgruppe* in the Banat (see p. 242) was well organized, and, in March 1942, General Nedić

appointed the leader of the *Volksgruppe* as head of the civil administration. Thus the Germans have been able to treat the province virtually as a German colony administered by the *Volksgruppe*. Its relationship to the Serbian government is not clear.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

General Features

In Slovenia, the Germans have taken extensive measures to Germanize the area by the deportation of Slovenes and by the settlement of German peasants and also to accomplish its economic assimilation to Greater Germany. Food conditions both in this area and in Italian Slovenia appear to be better than in the rest of partitioned Yugoslavia. On the other hand, in Dalmatia, in the Croatian coastal zone, in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Montenegro the food situation has deteriorated catastrophically and little has been supplied by the occupying power. Little is known of the Albanian-annexed regions, but here, too, the standard of living is likely to have declined considerably. In the 'Hungarian' districts, Yugoslavs who had immigrated since 1918 were ejected and Magyars settled on the land. Food production has not shown any serious decline; indeed the Axis powers have secured useful quantities of grain from Bačka and Baranja. The Bulgarians have pursued a severe policy of Bulgarization in Macedonia, and as a whole the standard of living is very low.

The supply of food to the towns of Croatia, which has a relatively high proportion of urban population, has been a serious problem since the Pavelić régime created the 'independent state'. Apart from the northern belt of the country, all the main foodstuffs are in short supply throughout the state and there are considerable variations in quantities available from town to town. In the more backward areas of the country, especially in the coastal districts, conditions are worse and even the rural districts suffer privation. These shortages have only partly been due to reduced production, since inadequate control over agricultural production has also been a serious factor. In January 1943, Pavelić issued a civil mobilization decree which demanded service from all inhabitants of the state, either for the Ministry of War or for the Ministry of the Interior. The mobilization has been limited, however, to the labour necessary for the functioning of the transport services.

The more complete German control over Serbia has made exploitation more open and more extensive than in Croatia. The new state has been virtually isolated not only from the rest of Yugoslavia but also from other parts of Europe. Since the important agricultural region of the Banat is separately administered, any available surplus has been exported by the Germans to Germany with the result that the southern 'deficient' areas (Fig. 65) have been short of foodstuffs, especially in the towns. The standard of living in Serbia has therefore substantially deteriorated. Further privation has been caused by the burden of occupation costs and of increased taxation. The population has also suffered from shortages of clothing and fuel, from inflation and from the enforcement of compulsory labour. Late in 1942, the German Economic Controller issued an order compelling the peasants to deliver their grain in order to assure supplies for the population, for the occupying forces, for the state guard and for heavy workers; the balance was to be placed at the disposal of the Economic Controller.

Religion

The Orthodox Church. The Serbian Orthodox clergy have played an important part in resisting foreign occupation under the Patriarch Gavriilo's gallant leadership; though he himself was soon imprisoned by the Germans, as were other Serbian bishops. In former Yugoslav Macedonia, the Bulgarians have expelled Serb bishops and priests and have replaced them with their own. In Croatia, too, the Orthodox hierarchy have suffered considerably at the hands of the *Ustaše*. After the independent Croat state had been set up, an Autocephalous Croat Orthodox Church was established to include the 1½ million Orthodox of Croatia, and a Russian bishop of the Karlovci Synod (see p. 221) was put at its head. It is technically in accordance with Orthodox theory that a separate state should have a separate ecclesiastical organization, but the new patriarch and his followers have been indignantly repudiated by the Serb Church, and the newly created Church has been unable to find an adequate supply of priests.

The Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church in Slovenia, where most of the priests themselves came of peasant families, has long been the champion of Slovene nationalism (see p. 10), and it is not surprising that the clergy in the German-occupied part of the country were savagely persecuted by the new rulers. They were subjected to the grossest indignities, and the churches did not escape from sacrilege. Within a short time, the number of priests in the diocese of Maribor was reduced from 474 to 7, and there was a similar reduction in the German-annexed parts of the diocese of Ljubljana. The exiled Slovenes, 60,000 of whom have been transported to Serbia, and those priests who succeeded in escaping, have been received with great kindness, not only by the Croats but also by the Serbs, headed by the Orthodox clergy. In Italian-occupied Slovenia, the Church enjoys a more favoured position and the clergy are unrestricted. In Croatia, the Pavelić régime has done its utmost to gain the full support of the Church, but the Roman Catholic clergy, following the lead of Mgr Stepinac, Archbishop of Zagreb, have protested strongly both against the *Ustaš* persecution of Serbs and Jews and against the government's attempts to force conversion to Roman Catholicism.

The Moslems. Soon after the establishment of the independent state of Croatia, the Moslems were assured complete religious and cultural autonomy. They have been given considerable financial assistance; state subsidies to Moslem schools have been substantially increased and several new ones have been founded. In the summer of 1942, Pavelić ordered the construction of a mosque in Zagreb for the 3,500 Moslems in Croatia-Slavonia. There is a large Moslem element both among the officials of the Croat government and among the *Ustaše*.

The Jews. Towards the end of April 1941, the Germans enforced severe anti-Jewish measures in Serbia, and several concentration camps were set up. The Jews of Bulgarian-annexed Macedonia were deported early in 1943. The German example has been followed in Croatia since April 1941, and Jewish laws have been vigorously applied. For example, in July 1941, Pavelić decreed that all the Jewish inhabitants of Zagreb should be deported to an island in the Adriatic; later, all Jewish synagogues in Zagreb were ordered to be demolished. Intensified anti-Semitic measures have also been introduced in Sarajevo. Confiscation of property, persecution and extermination have been the results of the carefully planned anti-Jewish laws.

Education

In German-occupied Slovenia, Slovene education has completely ceased to exist. Teachers have either been deported or sent to concentration camps and secondary schools have been closed. The new frontier between Germany and Italy has severely restricted the sphere of the influence of Ljubljana university.

In Croatia, the University of Zagreb has been preserved, but teaching has been adjusted to Nazi and Fascist doctrines. A faculty of Medicine, affiliated to Zagreb university, has been opened at Sarajevo. Italian and German have been introduced as compulsory subjects in all schools, both elementary and secondary. Special schools have been set up for the *Ustaše*, and other teachers have been instructed to co-operate with the *Ustaše* in the organization of work in the schools. German schools have been established at Zagreb and other places, and the *Volksgruppe* has built a school at Osijek to give the peasants an 'ideological education'.

At Belgrade, the university has been opened and closed alternately since 1941. It has lost its autonomy and effective steps have been taken to ensure that only supporters of the government are admitted to the teaching staff. It was announced in 1943 that the government had undertaken the work of reorganizing the life of the schools and of the university in particular. In those schools where work has been continued, the education of the children has been either limited or subjected to German influence. Since 1942, control of all sports clubs and other physical education organizations has been under the Minister of Education.

The Bulgarians have made great efforts to eradicate the influence of Serbian culture in Macedonia; there are now only Bulgarian schools, and a new university, named after King Boris, has been opened at Skopje.

FORCES OF RESISTANCE

The resistance of the Yugoslav peoples to enemy oppression has been on a large and heroic scale. Civil disobedience has been almost general. Sabotage has been widespread and effective. Open warfare has broken out at one time or another in almost every district under German, Italian or *Ustaš* control. Yugoslav resistance has successfully diverted many enemy divisions besides large Croatian forces which might otherwise have been employed to swell the German armies.

Several factors have helped to strengthen popular resistance. First, large numbers of Yugoslav soldiers were able to escape after the first thrust of the German invasion. Some of these dispersed to their homes, retaining their arms or hiding them in secret dumps. Small bands of others remained in difficult country which was not cleared by the Germans. Again, Yugoslav mobilization had been far from complete; units were still assembling in the western regions while the invasion proceeded and they dispersed either unattacked or without serious fighting. Since the capitulation, constant German demands for labour or produce (Pavelić has sent over 100,000 Croat workers to Germany) and conscription for the Croat army have also strengthened resistance. Finally, there is a strong tradition of the glories of irregular warfare, and memories of the never-despairing struggle for freedom in former centuries have been a powerful incentive to hope and action. The physical features of the country, too, have made successful

guerilla activity possible, and soon after the capitulation in 1941, several groups of Yugoslavs were taking part in some sort of organized active resistance.

In Serbia, the largest group was that formed under the leadership of Colonel Mihajlović. It consisted of Serbian remnants of the Yugoslav army, of members of the semi-military and Serb nationalist Četnik organization and of ordinary citizens. There were also Partisan formations organized and directed by Communists. In 1941, Četnik and Partisan collaboration in Serbia resulted for a time in their holding four-fifths of the whole country, but a powerful German punitive expedition soon followed and by the end of the year organized fighting had ceased. Extensive areas had been laid waste and thousands of people, many of whom had taken no part in the revolt, were shot. The Partisans either dispersed or withdrew to Montenegro and Bosnia, where they joined other Partisan guerilla bands. Some of the Četniks, too, withdrew to the west to carry on the battle, while others scattered apparently to await a more opportune moment.

The areas under Croat rule have suffered less systematic repression than the rest of Yugoslavia, despite the terrorist practices of the *Ustaše* and their well-planned onslaughts on the Serb population, especially in northern and western Bosnia. Pavelić and his ministers have openly proclaimed their intention of removing the Serb element from the population and the *Ustaše* were given a free hand to use 'the steel broom' for this purpose. Nevertheless, Partisan forces hostile to the régime, including many thousands of Bosnian Serbs, gave battle to the *Ustaše* and joined up with other Partisans from Serbia. Throughout 1942 the Partisan forces continued the guerilla war in central and western Bosnia and in southern Croatia, but there was no news of guerilla activities in Serbia or Slovenia, although highly organized civil disobedience was effectively employed throughout the country.

Not only was actual fighting becoming confused, but the political issues presented an even more complex pattern. Of the many different groups taking part in some form of organized active resistance, the two main forces were the troops of Mihajlović operating on the borders of Serbia and Montenegro, and the National Army of Liberation (N.L.A.), commanded by Marshal Tito. By the beginning of 1943 a rift appeared between General Mihajlović and the Partisans; the latter alleged that some of the Četniks were collaborating with the Axis against the Partisans. Meanwhile, fighting was concentrated in three areas—around Karlovac in western Croatia, in the Bihać district of west Bosnia, and in south Bosnia around Travnik. A German and Italian drive against the Partisans in western Bosnia and southern Croatia was launched in the early months of 1943. There were also Partisan activities in Slavonia and in Slovenia, around Ljubljana, where the groups were in contact with Partisans from Croatia. After an offensive of two months' duration, the Axis forces had succeeded in occupying several major places, but they had entirely failed in their main purpose, namely, the encirclement and the annihilation of the N.L.A. On the contrary, Partisan troops had now regained the initiative in various sectors and they dominated the heights along the Sarajevo-Mostar railway. War reports published by the N.L.A. through Radio Free Yugoslavia often cover considerable periods of time, but it is clear that between March 1943 and January 1944, the Partisans, aided by supplies from the Allies, gained control of large areas in the interior of Yugoslavia, especially the mountainous regions of Bosnia, Dalmatia, Montenegro and the Sanjak, the hills of Slavonia, the Croat-Slovene border and many districts in Slovenia. On the other hand, the German forces, together with the 'government' forces of Croatia

and Serbia, were in control of the main lines of communication, the river valleys, most of the Adriatic coast and islands, and the more accessible parts of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and central Serbia. But the border-line between liberated and enemy-controlled territory cannot be clearly demarcated for it varies according to the fortunes of war. In his survey before Parliament on 22 February 1944, Mr Churchill described the state of resistance in Yugoslavia and in referring to the Partisans he stated that 'the whole movement has taken shape and form, without losing, as I say, the guerilla quality without which it could not possibly succeed. These forces are, at this moment, holding in check no fewer than 14 German divisions, out of 20 in the Balkan peninsula. Around and within these heroic forces, a national and unifying movement has developed. The Communist element had the honour of being the beginners, but, as the movement increased in strength and numbers, a modifying and unifying process has taken place, and national conceptions have supervened. In Marshal Tito, the Partisans have found an outstanding leader, glorious in the fight for freedom'.*

Under Marshal Tito, the anti-Fascist council for the liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) claims to represent all the sections of the Yugoslav people according to their relative strengths; its aims are stated to be, first and foremost, the liberation of Yugoslavia from German domination, and, secondly, the formation of a new Yugoslav state on a democratic and federal basis. The name of Dr Maček, whom Pavelić has kept in strict confinement, remains venerated in Croatia, and the Peasant Party, though weakened, is still supported by the majority of the people though some of its leaders have joined the Partisans. In Slovenia, the Freedom Front (O.F.) continues the struggle for national liberation. In Serbia, however, active resistance is almost at a standstill.

On 24 May 1944, Mr Churchill again spoke of the resistance movement in Yugoslavia and summed up the position thus: 'The reason why we have ceased to supply Mihajlovitch with arms and support is a simple one. He has not been fighting the enemy and, moreover, some of his subordinates have made accommodations with the enemy from which have arisen armed conflicts with the forces of Marshal Tito, accompanied by many charges and counter-charges, and the loss of patriot lives to the German advantage. We have proclaimed ourselves the strong supporters of Marshal Tito because of his heroic and massive struggle against the German armies. We are sending, and planning to send, the largest possible supplies of weapons to him and to make the closest contact with him. . . . It must be remembered, however, that this question does not turn on Mihajlovitch alone; there is also a very large body, amounting to perhaps 200,000, of Serbian peasant proprietors who are anti-German but strongly Serbian and who naturally hold the views of a peasant ownership community in regard to property, less enthusiastic in regard to communism than some of those in Croatia and Slovenia. Marshal Tito has largely sunk his communist aspect in his character as a Yugoslav patriot leader. He repeatedly proclaims he has no intention of reversing the property and social systems which prevail in Serbia, but these facts are not accepted yet by the other side.'†

* *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, vol. 397, pp. 692-94 (22 February 1944).

† *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)*, vol. 400, pp. 776-7 (24 May 1944).

Appendix II

NOTE ON PLACE NAMES

Two official languages are recognized in Yugoslavia, namely Serbo-Croat and Slovene (see p. 204). Of these two Serbo-Croat is spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of the country and it is the language most generally used for government purposes. Slovene is written in a Roman (*latinica*) alphabet while Serbo-Croat is written in both Roman and Cyrillic (*ćirilica*) alphabets. Both alphabets contain thirty letters, and the Cyrillic characters can be transliterated into their Latin (Roman) equivalents, with the use of diacritical marks. This transliteration, however, while giving an exact and standardized spelling of place names, is not phonetic and therefore provides little indication of pronunciation to foreigners. The two alphabets are printed on p. 388; they are also reproduced in *Alphabets of Foreign Languages*, pp. 42-3 (2nd edition, P.C.G.N. London, 1933) with R.G.S. II phonetic equivalents added as a guide to pronunciation.

The best complete map of the country is that published by the Yugoslav government on a scale of 1 : 100,000; details of this map are given in vol. I, pp. 283 and 285. For areas in the west and north, sheets are published with the names in Roman script; in the sheets for the east and south, names are printed in Cyrillic. The names of foreign features and of foreign enclaves within the state frontier are given in the official Yugoslav form: hence *Zadar* for Italian *Zara*.

The choice of forms for place names in Yugoslavia used by various bodies are summarized below:

(i) *The Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (P.C.G.N.)*

As Yugoslavs make official use of a Roman alphabet, the P.C.G.N. accepts Yugoslav names in the forms in which they appear in the 'Latin' sheets of the official 1 : 100,000 map, and transliterates those names which appear in Cyrillic.

(ii) *Geographical Section of the General Staff*

The Geographical Section of the General Staff now follows the policy of the P.C.G.N. and accepts without alteration the names and geographical terms as used on the official Yugoslav map, 1 : 100,000 published in Latin script. For sheets published in Cyrillic script, the policy is to adopt the Yugoslav transliteration into Roman. As a guide to pronunciation, the R.G.S. II phonetic equivalents are printed on the margin of many of the sheets.

(iii) *Hydrographic Department, Admiralty*

Current British Admiralty Charts and Sailing Directions show official Yugoslav place names in the Latin alphabet, with diacritical marks. Geographical terms, however, are translated and the qualifying Yugoslav names are given in the nominative case rather than in the adjectival form: thus *Splitski Kanal* becomes *Split Channel* on the Admiralty Charts. A few inconsistencies occur when the adjectival form is retained, e.g. *Splitska Passage* or when the geographical term is not translated, e.g. *Dugi Otok*.

In the forthcoming seventh edition of the *Mediterranean Pilot*, vol. III, all Yugoslav place names are revised and official Yugoslav names as used on the Yugoslav Admiralty Charts are adopted. Geographical terms are not translated.

THE SPELLING OF PLACE NAMES IN THIS HANDBOOK

The principle laid down in the P.C.G.N. policy is accepted by both the Geographical Section of the General Staff and by the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty. The following usage has therefore been adopted for this Handbook:

(i) The spelling of the name of the country adopted for the Handbook is Yugoslavia, which is also the official name of the country.

(ii) Where familiar English versions of place names do not exist, the rendering of names and geographical terms as given in the official 1 : 100,000 map of Yugoslavia is adopted and printed in Latin script. Two other exceptions have also been made:

(a) In the coastal descriptions, geographical terms are often translated and the adjectival form is rendered as a nominative: e.g. *Mljet Channel* for *Mljetski Kanal* and *Gulf of Kotor* for *Boka Kotorska*. Similarly *Lake Ohrid* and *Lake Prespa* occur in place of the official *Ohridsko Jezero* and *Prespansko Jezero*.

(b) In historical context, conventional forms are given in addition to the official forms.

Appendix III

JUGOSLAV ALPHABETS

Two alphabets are employed in Yugoslavia, namely the Latin and the Cyrillic alphabets. The conversion of one alphabet to the other is direct with no loss of phonetic accuracy (see p. 210). Slovene is also written in the Latin alphabet (see p. 208), with the exception of *đ*, *č* and *dž*. The following table gives printed and cursive examples of the two alphabets in parallel columns, together with a key to their approximate pronunciation in English.

LATIN (Latinica)		CYRILLIC (Ćirilica)		ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION
Printed	Cursive	Printed	Cursive	
A	a	А	а	Like <i>a</i> in car
B	b	Б	б	English <i>b</i>
V	v	В	в	English <i>v</i>
G	g	Г	г	Like <i>g</i> in good
D	d	Д	д	English <i>d</i>
Đ	đ	Ђ	ђ	Between <i>j</i> in June and <i>d</i> in dune
E	e	Е	е	Like <i>e</i> in end
Ž	ž	Ж	ж	Like <i>s</i> in measure
Z	z	З	з	Like <i>z</i> in zeal
I	i	И	и	Like <i>ee</i> in keen
J	j	Ј	ј	Like <i>y</i> in year
K	k	К	к	English <i>k</i>
L	l	Л	л	English <i>l</i>
Lj	lj	Љ	љ	Like <i>li</i> in million
M	m	М	м	English <i>m</i>
N	n	Н	н	English <i>n</i>
Nj	nj	Њ	њ	Like <i>ni</i> in pinion
O	o	О	о	Like <i>o</i> in more
P	p	П	п	English <i>p</i>
R	r	Р	р	English <i>r</i>
S	s	С	с	Like <i>ss</i> in pass
T	t	Т	т	English <i>t</i>
Ć	ć	Ћ	ћ	Between <i>ch</i> in choose and <i>t</i> in creature
U	u	У	у	Like <i>oo</i> in room
F	f	Ф	ф	English <i>f</i>
H	h	Х	х	Like <i>ch</i> in loch
C	c	Ц	ц	Like <i>ts</i> in cats
Č	č	Ч	ч	Like <i>ch</i> in church
Dž	dž	Џ	џ	Like <i>j</i> in joy
Š	š	Ш	ш	Like <i>sh</i> in sheet

INDEX

- Abdul Hamid, Sultan, 130
 Academies, 231, 233
 Academy of Science and Art, South Slav, 28, 231-2
 Accounts, Court of, 348
 Adam, Archbishop, 85
 Administration, health, 352-7
 Administrative courts, 348-9
 Adrianople, 89, 104
 Adriatic type of house, 269-70 (and fig.)
 Agram, *see* Zagreb
 Agram trials, 13, 30, 113
 Agrarian Bank, 164
 Agrarian party, 157, 168
 Agrarian reform, 243
 Agricultural co-operatives, 263-4
 Agricultural schools, 9, 67, 229, 230-1
 Akerman, convention of, 105
 Albania, 86, 114, 115 (fig.), 131, 154-5 (and fig.), 374 (fig.), 376-7
 Albanian League, 245
 Albanians, 5, 69, 117, 119, 123, 131, 133, 154-5, 195, 200, 236, 244-7 (and fig.)
 Alexander, King, 146-7, 158-174 *passim*, 235, 309, 318, 328, 329, 342-3
 Alexander Obrenović, 109-10
 Ali Pasha, 123
 Almissa, 36
 Alphabets, 8, 13, 14, 79, 103-4, 198, 202, 204-11 *passim*, 298-9, 388
 Alpine types of house, 268-9 (and fig.)
 Ambassadors, Council of, 154
 Andrássy, Count, 54, 108
 d'Annunzio, Gabriel, 149, 150
Anopheles algeriensis, 366
Anopheles bifurcatus (claviger), 366
Anopheles maculipennis, 366
Anopheles plumbeus, 366
Anopheles pseudopictus, 366
Anopheles superpictus, 366
Antemurale Christianitatis, 217
 Anti-Semitism (1941), 382
 Anthrax, 362
 Antivari, *see* Bar
 Aosta, Duke of, 378
 Apostolic administrators, 222
 Appeal, Courts of, 347, 349
 Appointments, legal, 349-50
 Aquileia, 6, 211
 Arbe, *see* Rab
 Architecture, 40, 83, 293-7 (and plates)
 'Argosy', 40
 Arilije, 296
 Armenians, 72
 Arpád dynasty, 212
 Arsen(ije) I, Archbishop of Peć, 296
 Arsen(ije) III, Patriarch of Peć, 71, 96, 200, 215
 Arsen(ije) IV, Patriarch of Peć, 96
 Art schools, 230
 Ashkenazim Jews, 221, 252, 253
 Aspalaton, 194 (plate)
 Assling, 9
 Athos, Mt., 214, 296, 300
 Aurelius, Emperor, 2
 'Ausgleich' (1867), 12, 26-7, 43, 74
 Austerlitz, battle of (1805), 41
 Austria, 6-13 *passim*, 20-2, 25-6, 42-4, 98-9, 106-16 *passim*, 129-33 *passim*, 134-7, 142, 145-7, 151 (fig.); *see also* Dual Monarchy
 Autocephalous Croat Orthodox Church, 382
 Avars, 3, 6, 195, 196
 AVNOJ, 385
 Avramović, 233
 Bach, Alexander, 12, 26
 Bačka, 70-7 *passim* (and figs.), 152, 195, 238, 240, 253, 376
 Bacteriological Station, 356
 Bajo Pivljanin, 309
 Bajram, feast of, 289
 Bakar, 375, 378
Baldacchino, 293
 Balfour, A. J., 144
 'Balin and Balan', 304
 Balkan Entente, 173, 185, 186
 Balkan League, 131, 245
 Balkan Wars (1912-13), 31, 44, 68-9, 77, 110 (fig.), 113-16 (and figs.), 132-3, 136, 245
 Ballads, 89, 92, 103, 302-10
 Balša dynasty, 58-9, 88
 Baltic languages, 203, 204
 'Ban', 184, 319, 332-4
 Banat, the, 52, 70-7 *passim* (and figs.), 96, 152, 238, 242, 247, 380-1
 Banja Luka, 50, 218, 239 (fig.), 241 (fig.), 251 (fig.)
 Banjanin, M., 174
 Banjska, 296
Banovine, 164, 330-5 (and fig.), 353, 380
 Bar, 65, 66, 67, 85
 Baranja, 70-7 *passim* (and fig.), 152, 238, 240, 376
 'Barlaam and Josaphat', 300

- Barthou, M., 173, 174, 309
 Basilicas, 294
 Bastianini, Guiseppe, 376
 Bavaria, 6
 Baži-knezes, 95
 Begs, 51, 123, 271
 Begunj, 351
 Bela Crkva, 152, 234
 Belgrade, 89, 94, 96, 100, 156, 191, 274, 315, 351, 361
 Belgrade, diocese of, 216
 Belgrade, prefecture of, 164, 276, 332-5 (and fig.)
 Belgrade, Treaty of (1739), 18, 19 (fig.), 52, 96
 Belgrade, university of, 231, 232, 383
 Beliefs, 118, 287-9, 301
 Benedictine monks, 212, 299
 Beneš, Dr E., 142, 145
 Benkovac, 376
 Beograd, *see* Belgrade
 Berat, 86
 Berlin Memorandum, 54
 Berlin, Treaty of (1878), 54, 56, 67 (fig.), 107, 108 (fig.), 124-6, 129, 132, 216
 Bessarabia, 240
 Bielopolje, 296
 Bileća, 66
 Bilek, *see* Bileća
 Biograd, 15, 376
 Birth-rate, 360-1
 Bischoflack, 9
 Biskupija, 293
 Bistrica, 296
 Bitolj, 114, 208, 246 (fig.), 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.), 275; *see also* Monastir
 'Black Hand', 57
 Blajvajs, Janez, 11, 314
 Bleiweiss, Janez, *see* Blajvajs, Janez
 'Bloc of National Agreement', 159
 Bobovac, 48
 Bodin, 81
 Boehme, Jacob, 312
 Bogomils, 17, 33, 46-7, 49, 50, 51, 83, 92-3, 213, 218, 292; *see also* Patarenes
 Bohorić, Adam, 8
 Bojana, R., 66, 296
 Bolshevism, 188-9
 Borgonovo, *see* Sušak
 Boris, King, 173, 186
 Borojević, Marshal, 143
 Bosanius, 44
Bosanska Vila, 310
 Bosante, 44
 Bosiljgrad, 152, 377
 Bošković, Rudjer-Josip, 313
 Bosnia, 44-57 (and figs.), 111-12, 134-7 (and figs.), 212-15, 218, 238, 319
 Bosnian type of house, 265-6 (and fig.), 272 (plate)
 Brailsford, H. N., 127
 Branimir, Prince, 212
 Brač, 48, 313 (plate)
 Branković, George, 90-1 (and fig.), 92, 309
 Brazza, *see* Brač
 Brežice, 240
 Bride-price, 289
Brucella melitensis, 370
Brucellosis, 370
 Bruno, Giordano, 312
 Brusa, 88
 Buccari, *see* Bakar
 Bucharest, Treaty of (1812), 100, 104
 Bucharest, Treaty of (1913), 67 (fig.), 69, 115 (fig.), 132
 Budak, Dr, 168
 Budget, communal, 336-7
 Budva, 63
Bugarštice, 303
 Bulgaria, 79, 84, 87, 91, 113, 119, 122, 125 (and fig.), 128-33 *passim*, 152, 153 (fig.), 173, 181, 185, 187, 206-11 *passim*, 377, 382
 'Bulgarian atrocities', 125
 Bulgars, 5, 79, 119, 121, 133
 Bunić, 312
 Bunjevci, 70, 76, 152, 243
 Burial customs, 289
 Burian, Baron, 56, 137
 Buvina, A., 294
 Byzantine art, 293, 295-6
 Byzantine empire, 5, 14-15, 31-3, 48 78-81 (and fig.), 121-2, 197
 Calvinist Protestants, 219
 Campanella, Thomas, 312
 Campaniles, 275, 294
 Campo Formio, Treaty of (1797), 41
 Caporetto, battle of (1918), 144
Carabinieri, 376
 Carantania, 6
 Caribrod, 152, 377
 Carinthia, 6-13 *passim* (and figs.), 22-4, 134-7 (and fig.), 151, 208, 237, 373
 Carlowitz, Treaty of (1699), 18, 19 (fig.), 38, 52, 71, 96
 Carlstadt, *see* Karlovac
 Carnaro, province of, 376
 Carniola, 6-13 *passim* (and figs.), 22-4, 134-7 (and fig.), 208, 237, 373
 Castelnuovo, 41
 Catalans, 72, 77
 Catholics, Old, 219, 226
 Cattaro, *see* Kotor
 Cavtat, 195 (plate), 314 (plate), 316, 376
 Celebrations, ceremonial, 287-9
 Celje, 237, 239 (fig.), 241 (fig.), 251 (fig.)
 Celts, 2, 195
 Census (1921), 155-6 (and fig.), 237
 Central government, 322-5, 328-31

- Central Institute of Health, 352, 356
 Central Office for the Insurance of Workers, 357
 'Centralism', 157-8
 Cereal production, 281 (fig.)
 Cerebro-spinal meningitis, 362
 Cetinje, 60, 61, 63, 68, 69, 211, 246 (fig.), 250 (fig.)
 Cettigne, *see* Cetinje
 Charlemagne, Emperor, 6, 32, 197 (fig.), 204, 211
 Charles IV, Emperor, 142
 Cherso, 35
 Christening customs, 289
 Christian Socialist Union, 278
 Chronicles, 300
 Chrovati, 198
 Churchill, Mr Winston, 185, 190, 191, 385
 Ciano, Count, 181
 Cincar-Marković, M., 184, 185, 186, 188
 Cinemas, 277
 Cisterns, 358-60
 Claudius, Emperor, 2
 Clissa, *see* Klis
 Clothing, 282-7
 'Code Napoléon', 10, 22
 Codices, 300
Collegiata, 293
 Commercial courts, 347-8
 Commercial League of Youth, 230
 Commercial schools, 229-30
 Communist party, 321, 339-45
Comitadjis, 129
 Communes, 327-8, 335-7
 Concordat (of 1935), 177, 179-80, 221, 223-4
 Conduits, 358-60
 Congress of Yugoslav Protestants, 225
 Constantine, Emperor, 2
 Constantinople, 49, 86
 Constantinople, patriarchate of, 51, 83, 93, 97
 Constituent Assembly, 157, 183
 Constitution of 1921, 157-8, 162, 219, 320-25
 Constitution of 1931, 166-7, 328-37
 Constitutional development, 12, 26-7, 55-6, 64, 100, 105, 109-10, 157-8, 162, 166-7, 219, 320-1
 'Contested Zone', 110 (fig.), 114
 Continuation schools, 227
 Cooking, 280-2
 Co-operative enterprise, 263-4
 Co-operatives, health, 353-4
 Copper mines, 2
 Corfu, Declaration of (1917), 144, 219, 320-1
 Corporate Economy, Provincial Council of, 376
 Corvinus, Matthias, 70
 Cossacks, 72, 76, 77
 Council of Corporate Economy, 376
 Council of Ministers, 164, 323, 329
 Counter-Reformation, 8
 Country life, 258-60
 Courts, 346-9
 Crete, 98, 128
 Crikvenica, 195 (plate)
 Crimean War, 64, 106
 Crna Gora, 58
 Crnička, 63
 Crnojević, Stephen, 59
 Croat Peasant Club, 159
 Croat Peasant party, 158-62 *passim*, 235, 278, 321, 338-45 *passim*, 385
 Croat Rights, party of, 339
 Croat Union party, 339-45
 Croatia, 13-31 (and figs.), 134-7 (and fig.), 211-12, 217, 238, 242, 293-5, 299, 312, 319, 334-5, 375-6, 377-8
 Croatia, primate of, 212
 Croatian type of house, 268-9 (and fig.)
 Croats, 30, 44, 55 (and fig.), 76, 134-7, 197, 198
 Crusade, First, 81
 Crusade, Fourth, 33, 35, 84, 122
 Cumans, 122
 Currency control (1933), 172
 Curzola, *see* Korčula
 Customs, 287-9
 Cvetković, M., 182, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 345
 Cvijić, J., 200-1
 Cyprus, 98
 Cyrillic script, 8, 14, 28, 59, 79, 103, 198, 202, 204-11 *passim*, 299, 388
 Czech language, 203
 Czech National Committee, 142, 144
 Czechoslovakia, 173, 186
 Czechs, 5, 55 (and fig.), 155, 236, 249
 Czernowitz, metropolitan of, 217
 Čabar, 375
 Čačak, 101
 Čakavian dialect, 205-6 (and fig.)
 Čakovac, 243
 Čaršija, 160
 Časlav, 79
 Četniks, 384
 Čifliki, 123, 198, 199 (fig.)
 Čingrija, Dr, 147
 Čubranović, 312
 Dahijas, 309
 Dalmatia, 14, 15, 22-4, 31-44 (and figs.), 134-7 (and figs.), 252, 319, 374 (fig.), 375 (fig.), 376
 Dalmatia, bishopric of, 217
 Dalmatin, J., 8

- Daničić, Djuro, 210
 Danilo I, 60-1
 Danilo II, 63-5
 Danilo, Archbishop, 300
 Danilov Grad, 66
 Danube, R., 71, 74, 75, 96, 376
 Davidović, Ljubomir, 158-9, 180, 340, 341
 Death-rate, 360-1
 Debar, 84, 114, 126, 127, 208, 376, 377
 Dečani, 295, 296, 297 (plate)
 Deficiency diseases, 371
 Delnice, 375
 Delvidék, 376
 Democrat party, 157, 158, 161, 168, 321, 322, 338-45
 'Departments', 325-6 (and fig.)
 Deputies, Chamber of, *see Skupština Dert*, 302
 Dervishes, 289
 Deševo, 296
 Diaz, General, 146
 Dibra, *see* Debar
 Dictatorship, royal, 162-74
 Diet, 278-80, 370-1
 'Diets', 12, 21
 Dimitrije, Patriarch, 221
 Dioclea, *see* Zeta
 Diocletian, Emperor, 2, 194 (plate), 195, 214 (plate), 275
 Diphtheria, 362
 'Districts', 326-7
 Djakovica, 272 (plate), 377
 Djouričić, M., 363
 Djurdjevi Stupovi, 226
 Djurković, M., 233
Djuveč, 281
 Dnieper, R., 72
 Dobrudja, 240
Dodolske, 302
Domačičke škole, 229
Domačin, 260
 Domentian, 300
 Domestic science schools, 229
 Dominican friars, 211
 Dositije, Bishop, 221
 Dragutin, 296
 Drama, 315
Drang nach Osten, 5, 56, 108, 115, 116
Dravska banovina, 332-5 (and fig.), 377
 Dress, national, 119, 272 (plate), 282-7 (and plates)
Drinska banovina, 332-5 (and fig.)
 Drzić, 311
 Dual Monarchy, 5, 26, 31, 43, 55-7, 74-7, 110-16, 134-7 (and figs.), 142, 145-7
Dunavska banovina, 332-5 (and fig.)
 Dubrovnik, 195 (plate), 234, 275, 294; *see also* Ragusa
 Dukljanin, Pop, 311-12
 Dulcigno, *see* Ulcinj
Duomo, 293
 Durazzo, 84, 87
 Dušan, Stephen, 35, 47, 58, 77, 86-8 (and fig.), 122, 207, 214, 297, 300
 Dysentery, 362, 369
Džemijet party, 340-5 *passim*
 Eastern Roman Empire, 3, 14 (and fig.), 21; *see also* Byzantine empire
 Economic conditions, 160, 171-2, 255-64 *passim*, 381
 Economic controller, German, 380, 381
 Education, 104, 123, 126-7, 222, 226-35, 383
 Edward VII, 130
 Ekavian dialect, 206, 207 (fig.)
 Elections, parliamentary, 181-3, 324, 330, 340-5
 Elementary schools, 227
 Emigration, 68, 72
Encephalitis lethargica, 362
 Enos-Midia line, 69
 Enver Bey, 130
 Epic poetry, 63, 302-3
 Epidaurus, *see* Cavtat
 Episcopal Council, 221, 222
 Ercegnovi, *see* Castelnuovo
 Erysipelas, 362
 d'Esperey, General Franchet, 146
 'Estates', 8
Ethniké Hetaerea, 128
 Ethnographic Museum, 233
 Eugene, Prince, 96
 'Evangelistarium', 311
 Exarchate of Bulgaria, 108 (fig.), 123-4, 125 (fig.)
 Farms, family, 258-60
 Fascism, 151, 374, 376, 377, 383
 'February Patent' (1861), 26
 'Federalism', 157-8, 177-9
 Feldkommandants, 380
 Ferdinand of Austria, 17, 18
 Feudal rents, 94-5, 119, 123
 Filov, M., 187
 Final Appeal, Supreme Court of, 347, 350
 Fine Arts and Monuments, Institute of, 234
 Finno-Ugrians, 5
 Fiume, 21, 134, 142, 145, 149-51, 376
 'Fiume, Resolution of' (1905), 29, 43, 135
 Folk-magic, 301
 Folk-poetry, 302-10
 Food, 278-80, 381
 Forest rights, 260-1
 'Fourteen Points', 144
 France, 172-4, 185

- Francis Ferdinand, Archduke, 57, 116
 Francis Joseph, Emperor, 43, 116, 142
 Franciscans, 46, 51, 211, 213, 218, 223, 299
 Francopani, 195 (plate)
 Frank, Dr, 339
 Frankist party, 183, 184, 339
 Franks, 6, 14, 197 (fig.), 208
 Frederick III, Emperor, 49
 Freeman, E. A., 3, 32
 Fremantle, Admiral, 62
 French Revolution, 9-10
 French, in the Vojvodina, 72, 77
 Frescoes, 298, 299 (plate), 302 (plate)
 Friedjung, Dr, 30, 113
 Friulia, 6
 Frontiers, demarcation of, 148-55 (and figs.), 373-80 (and figs.)
 Fruška Gora, 14, 197, 297

 Gaj, Ljudevit, 24, 133, 210, 217, 314,
 Galičnik, 284 (plate)
 Galileo, 312
Gambusia, 367
 Gavriilo, Patriarch, 221, 382
Gebiet des Militärbefehlshabers Serbiens, 380
Gendarmerie, 350-1, 375, 378
 General Workers' Union, 278
 'Generalates', 18
 Geneva Conference (1918), 147
 Geology and Palaeontology, Museum of, 233
 German Evangelical Church, 225
 German language, 9
 German nationals, in Yugoslavia, 236, 237-42 (and fig.)
 Germanic languages, 204
 Germans, and colonization, 6, 30, 44, 55 (and, fig.) 72, 76-7, 85, 152, 155
 Germany, 56, 173, 180-1, 187, 373-4, 379-81
 Gestapo, 380
Gimnazije, 228
 Giotto di Bondone, 298
 Gladstone, W. E., 124
 Glagolitic script, 8, 208-9, 298-9, 311
 Goebbels, J., 190-1
 Goethe, J. W. von, 11, 310
 Gold-mining, 2
 Göring, H., 173
 Gorizia, *see* Görz
 Görz, 10-11, 13, 22-4, 134, 149-51 (and figs.)
Gospoda, 171
 'Gospodar', 64
 Gostivar, 376
 Gothic architecture, 296
 Gothic script, 208
 Government, 317-51 (and figs.)
 Gottschee, 7, 237; *see also* Kočevje
 Gračanica, 297, 298 (plate)
 Gradac, 296
 Gradisca, 13, 134; *see also* Görz
Gradjanske škole, 229
 Graeco-Slavonic art, 298
 Grahovo, battle of (1858), 65
 Grain monopoly, 171
 'Graničari', 18, 143
 Gravosa, *see* Gruž
 Graz, 10
 Grazing rights, 259
 Great Britain, 129-30, 142, 185, 187
 Great Ecclesiastical Court, 221
 Greco, El, 298
 Greece, 111-16 *passim* (and figs.), 119, 173, 185, 187, 190
 Greek colonies, 2, 194-6
 Greek language, 204
 Greek nationals, in Yugoslavia, 117, 119, 127, 133
 'Green Bands', 145
 'Green International', 158
 Gregory VII, Pope, 15, 81
 Gregory IX, Pope, 213
 Grgur, Bishop, 214 (plate)
 'Grimani line', 37 (fig.), 39
 Grimm, Jacob, 11
 Gruž naval college, 233
 Gubec, Martija, 21
 Gundulić, Ivan, 312
 Gusinje, 66, 69, 377
Guslarske, 303-4
 Guslars, 304, 308 (plate)
Gusle, 262, 303, 308 (plate)
 Gypsies, 117, 118

 Hadrianople, *see* Adrianople
 Haiduks, 92, 309
 Hallstatt period, 194
 Handicraft schools, 230
 Hapsburg dynasty, 6, 7, 11, 13, 18, 25-6, 42-4, 72, 96, 142
 Hatt-i-Sherif, 123
 Head measurements, 202-3
 Health, public, 352-72 (and figs.)
Heimatbund, 374
 Hektorović, Peter, 310
 Helen of Anjou, 296
 Heraclius, Emperor, 78, 212, 214
 Hercegovina, 44-7 (and figs.), 63, 65, 111-12, 134, 212-15, 319
 Hilendar, 296
 Hilmi Pasha, 129, 130
 Hinković, M., 142
 Historical poems, 305-10
 History and Archaeology, Museum of, 233
 Hitler, A., 182, 183, 187, 190, 191
 Hlum, 47-8 (and figs.); *see also* Hum
 Hodža, Dr, 250
 Holidays, public, 289

- Holy Roman Empire, 6, 7, 9, 20-2, 25-6
 Honorius III, Pope, 83
 Horvati, 198
 Hospitals, 356
 Hoste, Captain, 42
 Houses, 264-73 (and figs. and plates)
 Hranić, Sandalj, 49
 Hrebeljanović, Lazar, 47, 88-91 (and figs.), 93, 297
 'Hronografi', 300
 H. R. S., 278
 'Hrvati', 197, 198
Hrvatska Seljačka Stranka, see Croat Peasant Party
Hrvatski Dnevnik, 235
Hrvatski Radnički Savez, 278
 HSS, see Croat Peasant Party
 Hum, 47-8 (and fig.), 84, 212-15, 295
 Hungarian plain, 5, 196
 Hungarians, see Magyars
 Hungary, 13, 15-31 *passim*, 33-6 *passim*, 72-7 *passim*, 134-7, 187, 142, 145-7, 152, 164, 173, 175, 185, 186, 376; see also Dual Monarchy
 Huns, 3, 195
 Hunyadi, John, 90, 92
 Hussein Aga, 53
 Hvar, 48, 195, 234
 Hvosno, 296
 Hygiene, provincial institutes of, 353

 Ibar, R., 85
 Ikavian dialect, 206, 207 (fig.)
 Illiteracy, 227, 255
 'Illyria, kingdom of', 11-12
 'Illyrian Court Deputation', 72-3
 'Illyrian Provinces', 10, 22-4 (and fig.), 41-2, 133
 Illyrians, 2-3, 194-5
 Illyricum, 2
 Immigration, 72
 Independent Democratic party, 236, 338
 Infant mortality rate, 360-1
 Infectious diseases, 361-70
 Insurance, 277, 357
 'Internal Organization' (Macedonia), 127
 Invasion of Yugoslavia (1941), 191
 Ipek, see Peć
 Iron Age, 194
 Islam, 51, 57, 60, 69, 92-3, 199, 218-19
 Ismail Bey, 123
 Issa, 195
 Istria, 6-13 *passim* (and figs.), 22-4 (and figs.), 149-51
 Italians, 9, 44, 45, 72, 77, 155, 236, 252
 Italy, 142, 145-7, 148-51 (and figs.), 164, 173, 185, 187, 374-6 (and figs.)
 Ivan the Black, 59
 Jajce, 50
 Jakšić, 233
 Janissaries, 51, 95, 199
 Janjići, 47
 Janka Puszta, 175
 Jassy, Treaty of (1792), 62, 98
 Jauerburg, 9
Jedinstvo, 160
 Jekavian dialect, 206, 207 (fig.), 210
Jelek, 284, 286
 Jelačić, J., 25, 63
 Jesuits, 8, 96
 Jevtić, M., 175, 177
 Jews, 57, 117, 119, 155, 219, 220, 226, 252-3, 382
 JNS, 170, 342
 Joseph II, of Austria, 9, 23, 72, 98
 Jovan II, Patriarch, 93
 Jovanović (Serb poet), 73
 Jovanović, Dr Dragoljub, 168, 175
 Jovanović, Dr Slobodan, 190, 345
 JRZ, 177, 179, 343
 'Jugoslav idea', 13, 29, 31, 104, 133-8, 198
 Yugoslav Committee, 143, 144
 Yugoslav Minority Treaty (1919), 237
 Yugoslav National Council, 145, 147
 Yugoslav National party, 170, 243-3
 Yugoslav Peasant Radical Democratic party, 167
 Yugoslav Radical Union, 177, 343
 Yugoslavia, formation of, 148-56 (and figs.)
Jugoslovenski Lloyd, 235
 Julian Alps, 150
Junačke pesme, 303
 Junior civic schools, 229
 Justice, Minister of, 346-7
 Justinian's Code, 300
 Justinian, Emperor, 3, 32
Jutarnji List, 235
Jutro, 235

 Kačić-Miošić, 313
 Kajkavian dialect, 204-5 (and fig.)
Kala-azar, 367
 Kalenić, 297
 Kalje, 374
 Kállay, Baron, 54, 55, 56
 Kamnik, 285 (plate)
Kapetans, 51, 53
 Karadjoz, beg, 272
 Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović, 11, 103-4, 133, 209-10, 310, 314
 Kara George, 99-101, 256, 309, 317
 Karageorgević, Alexander, 105-6
 Karageorgević, Peter, 68, 110-16, 136, 318
Karl, 204
 Karlovac, 18
 Karlovci, 18, 216, 234

- Karlovci Synod, 221, 382
Kärnten, Reichsgau, 373
 Károlyi, Count, 146
 Karstland, water supply, 359
Kasacioni Sud, 347
 Kashubian language, 203
 Kastav, 375
Kavana, 261
Keratomalacia, 371
 Khuen-Héderváry, 28, 29
 Kiev, 72, 299
 Kindergarten schools, 227
 King Peter's Museum, 233
 Klagenfurt plebiscite, 151 (and fig.)
 Kleist, General von, 193
 Klek, 39 (and fig.)
 Kličevac idol, 285 (and fig.)
 Klis, 37, 50
Knez, 49, 89, 95, 101
 Knin, 234
 Kočevje, 237, 240; *see also* Gottschee
Kolač, 287
Kolo, 262, 302
 Koloman, 15, 16, 212
 Konariotes, 123
 Konce, 297
 Kopitar, Jernej, 11, 133, 314
 Koran, 225
 Korčula, 35, 48, 195, 294
Korkyra nigra, 195
Koroš, 205
 Korošec, Mgr, 142, 145-7, 161, 168, 169, 177, 223, 339
 Kosovo, 85, 117, 129, 132, 133, 154
 Kosovo, battle of (1389), 17, 48, 59, 70, 89-90, 215, 217
Kosovo cycle, 306-7
 Kosovo plain, 244, 245, 246, 377
 Košutić, M., 165
 Kossuth, Louis, 25, 74
Kotari, 378
 Kotor, 35, 37 (fig.), 41, 62, 69, 85, 234, 293, 295, 296, 376
 Kotor, bishopric of, 217
 Kotromanić, Stephen, 47
 Kragujevac, 101, 107
Krains, Die Ehre (1689), 9
 Krajina, 295
Kralj, 205
 Kraljevica, 378
 Kraljević, Marko, 89, 308 (plate)
Kraljević Marko, Cycle of, 307-9
 Kraljevo, 101
Kraljick, 302
 Krassovans, 72
 Kratovo, 114
Krdzali, 199
Kreise, 373
 Kreiskommandants, 380
 Krek, Mgr, 142
 Krešimir, Peter, 15, 32
 Križevci, 18, 224
 Krk Island, 252, 293, 294, 376
 Krnjević, M., 165
Król, 205
Kršćanska Socialistična Strukovna Zveza, 278
 Kršinić, 233
 Kruševac, 89, 297
Kuća, 265, 266
Kule, 270 (and figs.)
 Kulin, Ban, 46, 213, 309
 Kumanovo, 114, 208, 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.)
 Kuršumlija, 296
 Kustendil, battle of (1330), 84
 Küstenland, 134, 135 (fig.), 143 (fig.)
 Ladislav I, of Hungary, 15
 Ladislav of Naples, 36
 Lagosta, 150
 Laibach, *see* Ljubljana
 Language, 203-11, 314
 Lastovo, *see* Lagosta
 Latvian language, 203
 Lazar Hrebeljanović, 47, 88-91 (and fig.), 93, 297
 Lazarica, 297
 Learning, medieval, 298-301
 Legal system, 163, 345-50
Leishmania donovani, 367
Leishmaniasis, 367
 Leo XIII, Pope, 218
 Leopold I, Emperor, 21, 71, 216, 217
 Leopold II, Emperor, 22, 72
 Lepanto, battle of (1571), 38
 Lepoglava, 351
 Leprosy, 362, 364-5
 Lesina, *see* Hvar
 Leskovac, 94
 'Letopisi', 300
 Lettish language, 203
 Leviša, 297
 Lewis, Emperor, 6
 'Light of the Microcosm, The', 314
 Lighting, in villages, 263
 Lika, 169
 Limun Hajduk, 309
 'Lion of St Mark', 40
 Lissa, *see* Vis
 List, Field Marshal, 192
 Literary development, 208-11
 Lithuanian language, 203, 204
 Little Entente, 173, 181
 Little Russian language, 203
 Ljotić, D., 343, 379
 Ljubljana, 8, 231, 232, 237, 274, 315, 374, 375, 382, 383
 Ljubostinja, 297
 Local government, 163, 228, 325-8 (and fig.), 331-7 (and fig.)
 Loess country, water supply, 359 (and fig.)

- Logornik*, 378
 London, Treaty of (1913), 69, 114, 132
 London Treaty of (1915), 142-3 (and fig.), 148, 252
 Lovćen, Mt., 59
Lubiana, provincia (1941), 374
 Lučić, 311
 Lucio, Giovanni, 33
 Lutheran Protestants, 219, 220
 Lutheran Slovaks, 250
 Lužnica, 377
Lycées, 228
 Lyric poetry, 302

 Macartney, C. A., 17
 Macedo-Adrianopolitan Committee, 128
 Macedo-Slav dialects, 205 (fig.), 206-8, 209, 298
 Macedo-Slavs, 117-18 (and figs.), 119 (fig.), 133, 134
 'Macédoine', 117
 Macedonia, 88, 111, 113, 117-33 (and figs.), 136, 198, 377
 Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, 173
 Maček, Dr, 161-70 *passim*, 175-80 *passim*, 182-4, 188-90, 343, 345, 385
 Mačva, duchy of, 46, 87 (fig.)
 Madrid, Treaty of (1617), 38 (n.)
 'Maffia', 142
 Magnates, House of, 21, 376
 Magyars, 5, 30, 55 (and figs.), 73-7, 105, 152, 155, 200, 236, 242-4 (and fig.)
 Mahmud II, 53
 Malaria, 352, 365-7
 Mali, Stephen, 61
 Manasija, 297
 Manichaeans, 213, 292
 Manuel, Emperor, 83
 Manuscripts, medieval, 298-300 (and plate)
 'Marathon of Montenegro', 65
 Marburg, *see* Maribor
 'March Laws', 25
 Marchfeld, 6
 Maria Theresa, 9, 72
 Maribor, 237, 351, 382
 Marić, General, 179
 Marinković, Dr, 167, 168
 Markana-Trebinje, diocese of, 218
 Marmont, Marshal, 22, 42
 Marriage customs, 289
 Marseilles assassination, 173-4, 309
 Martinuzzi, Cardinal, 71
 Marulić, Marko, 308 (plate), 311-12
 Masaryk, Thomas, 142
Matica Hrvatska, 310
 Mavrovlachs, 3, 36, 197
 Maximilian, Emperor, 2
 Mayors, 336

 Mažuranić, Ivan, 315
 Measles, 362
 Medical personnel, 354
 Medieval culture, 292-310
 Medjumurje, 13, 149 (fig.), 152, 242-4, 376
 Medun, 66
 Mehmet Sokolović, 93, 215
 Menčetić, 311
 Mercantile marine, 160
 Mercantile marine schools, 231
 Mesta, R., 117, 153 (fig.)
 Meštrović, Ivan, 142, 214 (plate), 233, 308 (plates), 309 (plate), 314 (plate), 315-16
 'Métanastasiques, mouvements', 200-1 (and fig.)
 Metković, 37 (fig.)
 Metohija, 154, 244, 245, 246, 377
 Michael, Prince, of Raška, 81
 Michael Obrenović, 105, 106-7
 Michelozzi, Michelozzo, 195
 Midžor, Mt., 377
 Migrations, 71, 78, 92, 96, 199-202 (and fig.)
 Mihajlo, Patriarch, 215
 Mihajlović, General, 384, 385
 Milan Obrenović, 66, 107-9, 318
 Mileševo, 296
Militärgrenze, *see* 'Military Frontier'
 'Military Frontier', 11, 18-20 (and fig.), 28, 71-2, 74, 218, 238, 243
 Military Museum, 233
 Military school, 233
 Miller, W., 50
 Miloš Obrenović, 100-1, 104-5, 106, 215, 256, 258, 317
 Milutin, King, *see* Uroš Stephen (II)
 Milutinović, Sima, 310
 Mineralogy and Petrology, Museum of, 233
 Mining, 85, 86, 132, 152
 Ministers, Council of, 323, 329
 Minorities, 236-53 (and figs.)
 Miroslav, 296
 Miroslav Gospel, 298 (plate), 301
 'Mišar, Battle of', 309
 Mitrovica, 130, 175, 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.)
Mleko, 206
Mliko, 206
Mlijeko, 206
 'Mocenigo line', 37 (fig.), 39
 Modern culture, 311-16
 Mohacz, battle of (1526), 17, 37, 70
 Mohammed II, 49, 51, 218
 Mohammed III, 215
 Mola, General, 144
 Monarchy, Yugoslav, 322-5, 328-9
 Monasteries, 59, 83, 293-97, 299
 Monastir, 117, 126, 129, 132, 133; *see also* Bitolj

- Montague, Lady Mary Wortley, 97
 Montecuculi, General, 95
 'Montenegrin Vespers', 61
 Montenegro, 58-69 (and figs.), 108 (fig.), 134-7 (and fig.), 146, 318-19, 379
 Morača, 296
 Morava, R., 96, 112, 116 (fig.)
 Morava type of house, 266-8 (and fig.)
 Moravska *banovina*, 332-5 (and fig.), 377
 Morea, the, 98
 Morlacchia, 196
 Morlachs, 3, 36, 196
 Mosaic work, 297
 Moslem Organization, 157, 158, 161, 169, 321, 339-45 *passim*
 Moslems, in Yugoslavia, 51, 57, 60, 69, 92-3, 119, 155, 218-19, 220-1, 225, 382
 Mosquitoes, 366-7
 Mostar, 272 (plate), 275
 Mostar-Duvno, diocese of, 218
 'Mountain Garland, The', 314
 Mraclin, 355
 Mrnjavčevići, the, 305
 Mufti, Chief, 225
 Munich agreement, 182
 Mural paintings, 298
 Mürzsteg programme, 129-30
 Museums, 233-4
 Music schools, 230
 Mussolini, B., 170, 181, 183
Muške pesme, 303
 Mutimir, 214

Načelnik, 327, 334, 380
 'Nagoda', 26-7, 30, 43, 243, 319
 Nahies, 95, 101, 104
 Nalešković, 312
 Nani line, 37 (fig.), 38
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 10-11, 22-4 (and fig.), 41-2, 62
Narodne pesme, 302-3
Narodno Vijeće, 145
 Natalie, Queen, 109
 National Army of Liberation, 384, 385
 National Bank, of Yugoslavia, 171, 172
 National Council, 145-7
 National history museums, 234
 National Museum, 233
 National Zoology Museum, 233
 Nations, League of, 166, 173, 175, 236
 Naval college, 233
 Nedić, General, 186, 192, 380
 Nemanja, Stefan, 300
 Nemanja, Stephen, 35, 81, 82-4 (and fig.), 87 (fig.), 214, 296, 300
Nemanjid cycle, 305
Nemanjid dynasty, 77, 82-91 (and figs.), 296

 Neo-Hellenic art, 298
 Neretva, R., 15, 35, 47
 Nerezi, 302
 Nestos, R., *see* Mesta, R.
 Neuhausen, 379
 Neuilly, Treaty of (1919), 152, 153
 Neumarktl, 9
 Newspapers, 10, 163, 234-6
Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, 378
 Nicholas I, Czar, 119
 Nicholas II, Czar, 130
 Nicholas I, of Montenegro, 65-9, 109, 111, 136, 146, 318-19
 Nikšić, 65, 66
 Nin, 35, 292 (plate), 293
 Ninoslav, Matthew, 213
 Niš, 94, 206, 246 (fig.), 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.), 351
 Niš, diocese of, 216
 Nišava, 377
 Njegoš, Petar Petrović, *see* Peter II, Vladika
 N.L.A., 384, 385
 Nona, *see* Nin
 Non-historical poems, 304
Nova Riječ, 236
 Novasella, 65
 Novi, 195 (plate)
 Novi Pazar, sanjak of, 54, 69, 108, 112, 115, 154, 221, 246 (fig.), 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.)
 Novi Sad, 73, 238, 274, 315, 327, 376
 Nović, Petar, 310
 Novice, 11
Novosti, 235
 Nursing schools, 231
 Nutrition, 280

Oblasti, 325-6 (and fig.), 377
 Obod, 59
 Obor-knez, 95
 Obradović, Dositej, 73, 103, 209-10, 314
 Obrenović, Alexander, 109-10
 Obrenović, Michael, 105, 106-7
 Obrenović, Milan, 66, 107-9, 318
 Obrenović, Miloš, 100-1, 104-5, 106, 215, 256, 258, 317
Obzor, 161, 235
 Occupational groups, 256
 Ochrida, *see* Ohrid
 'October Diploma' (1860), 26
 Oecumenical patriarch, 215, 216, 217, 221
 Ohrid, archbishopric of, 83, 93, 124, 126, 215, 216
 Ohrid, 296 (plate), 295, 297, 377
Okrugi, 380
Okružni sud, 346
Oktoikh, 233, 303 (plate)
 Omer Pasha, 53

- Omiš, *see* Almissa
Opanći, 284, 286, 287
Općine, 378
Opći Radnički Savez, 278
 Opposition, political (1932-3), 169-70
 'Oppressed Nationalities, Congress of', 144, 148
Opština, 327-8, 335-7
 Orahovac, sub-prefecture of (1941), 377
 Oral tradition, Yugoslav, 301-10
 Orfelin, 314
 O.R.S., 278
 Orsini, Giorgio, 195
 Orthodox Church, 3, 6, 14 (and fig.), 42, 51, 56, 69, 83, 92-3, 97, 137, 155, 179, 198, 215-7, 219, 221-2, 382
 'Orthodox' Jews, 252, 253
 Ortskommandants, 380
 Osijek, 238, 253, 276, 378
Osman, 312
 Ostrogoths, 3, 195
 Otto I, Emperor, 6
 Ottokar, of Bohemia, 6, 7 (fig.)
 Ottoman empire, 5, 15, 17-20 (and figs.), 37-9 (and fig.), 49-55, 58-9, 60-2, 63-40, 68-9, 71, 91-9 (and figs.), 101-3, 104-9 *passim*, 116-33 *passim*, 198-202 (and figs.), 215-19

 Pag, 35
 Painting, medieval, 297-8
 Palmotić, 312
 Pančevo, 73, 76, 238, 334
Pandur, 350
 Paratyphoid fever, 362
 Paris, Treaty of (1856), 64-5, 106
 Parliament, Yugoslav, 323-5, 329-31
 Parties, political, 77, 137, 337-45
 Partisans, 384, 385
 Partition of Yugoslavia, 373-81 (and figs.)
 Pashaliks, 94-5
 Passarowitz, Treaty of (1718), 18, 19 (fig.), 39, 52, 96
 Pastrović family, 63
 Pašić, Nicolas, 142, 143-4, 157-8, 338, 340, 341, 342
 Patarenes, 213, 214, 292
 Patriarchal Council, 221-2
 Patzinaks, 122
 Paul, Prince, 174-93 *passim*, 345
 Pavelić, A., 164, 175, 377, 378, 381, 382, 384, 385
 Pavlica, 297
 Pavlik, Bishop Gorazd, 222
 Peasant life, 256-64
 Peasants' health classes, 355
Pečalbari, 267, 273
 Pécs, 152
 Peć, 69, 96, 296, 377
 Peć, patriarchate of, 60, 83, 85, 86, 93, 94 (fig.), 97, 124, 215, 216, 297 (plate)
 Peć, prefecture of (1941), 377
 Peja, *see* Peć
 Pellagra, 371
 Perčec, M., 164
 Perović, Dr, 174, 189
 Personnel, medical, 354
 Pešić, General, 186, 188
 Peštani, 377
 Petar, Patriarch, 215
 Peter II, King, 174, 189, 193
 Peter I, of Serbia, *see* Karageorgević, Peter
 Peter I, Vladika, 61-2
 Peter II, Vladika, 63, 314
 Peter the Great, 61, 98, 216
 Peter III, of Russia, 61
 Petrić, Franja, 312
 Petrinja, 18
 Petrovac, 250
 Petrovgrad, 274; *see also* Veliki Bečkerak
 Petrović, Danilo, *see* Danilo I
 Petrović, George, *see* Kara George
 Petrović-Njeguš, 216
 Phanariotes, 97, 215
 Pharos, 195
 'Philosophiae Naturalis Theoria', 314
Phlebotomus major, 367
Phlebotomus papatasi, 368
 Photius, canon law of, 300
 Physical Education, 234
 Physical types, 202-3
 Pietro Orseolo II, 32
 Pig War (1906), 111
 Pigmentation, 202-3
Pilaff, 282
 Pirot, 107, 206
Pita, 282
 Pius IX, Pope, 217
 Pivljanin, Bajo, 309
 Place names, note on, 386-7
Plasmodium falciparum, 365, 366
Plasmodium malariae, 365
Plasmodium vivax, 365
 Plav, 66, 69, 377
 Plevlje, 54
 Podgorica, 65, 67, 68, 351, 377
 Poganovo, 297
Poglavnik, 378
 Poles, 5, 55, 155, 236, 250
 Police system, 350-1, 375, 376, 378
 Poliomyelitis, 362
 Polish language, 203
 Political parties, 143-7 *passim*, 156-72 *passim*, 167-70 *passim*, 176-7, 337-45
Politika, 235
 Pomaks, 124
 Porto Ré, *see* Kraljevica
 Posideja, 101

- Pošta*, 262
 Požarevac, 100, 351
 Požega, 3, 21, 196, 239 (fig.), 241 (fig.)
 Pragmatic Sanction, 21
Pravda, 190, 235
Prečani, 159, 161, 162, 163, 167, 168, 178, 342
 Predić, 233
 'Predrag and Nenad', 304
 Prekomurje, 13, 149 (fig.), 152, 242-4, 376
 Press, in Yugoslavia, 10, 163, 234-6
 Pressburg, Treaty of (1805), 41
 Prešern, Franja, 11, 315
 Pribičević, Adam, 180
 Pribičević, Svetozar, 159, 162, 338, 340
 Priboj, 54, 246 (fig.), 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.)
 Prijepolje, 54
 Priko, 293
 Prilep, 88, 208, 246 (fig.), 284 (plate), 297
 Primary education, 227-8
 Primorska *banovina*, 332-5 (and fig.)
 Princip, Gavrilo, 57
 Printing, 8, 24, 59, 68, 103, 123
 Pripet marshes, 197
 Prisons, 350-1
 Priština, 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.), 377
 Prizren, 84, 206, 215 (plate), 248, 250, 296, 297, 377
 Prnjavor, 250
 Probus, Emperor, 2
 Prosecutor, public, 349-50
 Protestantism, 7-8, 57, 155, 219, 225-6
 Protić scheme, 321
 Protić, Stojan, 157, 158
 'Proveditore Generale', 40
 Prussian, Old, language, 203
 Psača, 297
 Ptuj, 237
 Public health, 352-72
 Public Health and Social Welfare, Ministry of, 352, 357
 Public holidays, 289
 Puerperal fever, 362

 Quartan malaria, 365

 Rab, 35, 292 (plate), 293, 295, 376
 Rabbinate, 226, 253
 Rabies, 362
 Račić, Puniša, 160
 Rački, Franjo, 28
 Radical party, 143-7 *passim*, 157, 167, 168, 321, 322, 338-45
 Radić, Pavle, 159, 160
 Radić, Stephen, 146, 157-61 *passim*, 339-8, 341, 342
 Radovan, 294
 Ragusa, 22, 34, 35, 39-40, 62, 87, 294; *see also* Dubrovnik
 'Ragusa school', 209, 311-13
 Ragusavecchia, *see* Cavtat
 Railway Regulations Act (1907), 30, 31
 Railway transport schools, 231
 Rainer, Friedrich, 373
Raja, 51, 93
Rakija, 261
 Ramadan, feast of, 289
 Ranjina, 312
 Rann, *see* Brežice
 Rapallo, Treaty of (1920), 150
 Rastko, 214
 Raš, 79, 85
 Raš-Prizren, diocese of, 216
 Raška, 78-88 *passim* (and figs.), 200, 207, 214, 296
 Ravanica, 297
 Ravanjska, 293
Realke, 229
 Rebellions, in Bosnia, 53-5, 66, 125; in Serbia, 99-101
 Reclamation, land, 72
 Red Cross, 354
 Reformation, the, 7-8, 217-18
 Reformed Church, 226
 Regency (1933-4), 174-86
Reichsgaue, 373
Reichsrat, 12
Reis-ul-Ulema, 225
 Religion, 211-26 (and fig.), 382; *see also* Catholics, Old, Jews, Moslems, Orthodox Church, Protestantism, Roman Catholic Church, Uniates
 Religious ceremonies, 287-9
 Religious courts, 349
 Reljković, 314
 Republican party, 340
 Resan, 127
 Resistance, forces of (1941-4), 383-5
 Reval programme, 130, 131
Ribanje, 310
 Ribbentrop, J., 186
 Rickets, 371
 Rižiniče, 293
 Rockefeller Foundation, 354
 'Rodoslovi', 300
 Roman Catholic Church, 3, 6, 8, 14, 47, 51, 55, 57, 69, 92, 137, 155, 156 (fig.), 198, 217-18, 219, 220 (and fig.), 222-4, 382
 Roman occupation, 2-3, 14, 32, 195-6
 Roman script, 298-9
 Romance languages, 204
 Romanesque architecture, 293
 Romantic movement, 9-10, 24, 315
 Rome, Pact of (1918), 144
 Rosandić, Toma, 233, 314 (plate), 315
 Rostuše, sub-prefecture of (1941), 377
 Roumania, 119, 152, 173, 185
 Roumanians, 72, 74, 76, 77, 119, 126-7, 155, 247-9 (and fig.)

- Rudenica, 297
 Rudnik, 101
 Rudolf II, Emperor, 21
 Rudolf IV, Emperor, 7
 Russia, 61-2, 98-9, 105-9 *passim*, 112, 129-33, 142
 Russian language, 203
 Russians, 5, 155, 236, 252
 Ruthenian language, 203
 Ruthenians, 55 (and fig.), 72, 76, 77, 155, 236, 250

Sabor, 21, 27, 28, 217, 319, 320, 334-5, 378
 St Clement, 214
 St Cyril, 14, 79, 208, 212, 298
 Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Treaty of (1919), 236
 St Hermagor, 12
 St Methodius, 14, 79, 208, 212, 214
 St Naum, 214
 St Paul, 211
 St Sava, 83, 214, 296, 300
 St Sava, Insurrection of, 93
 Sairach, *see* Žiri
 Salona, 194 (plate), 195, 292
 Salonica, 108, 111, 117, 121, 129, 132, 133, 369
 Salzburg, 6, 135 (fig.)
 Sami, 281
 Samo, 6-7 (and fig.)
 Samuel, Emperor, 79, 121
 Sanatoria, 356-7
 Sandfly fever, 367-8
 San Stefano, Treaty of (1878), 54, 66, 107, 108 (fig.), 124-6, 245
 Sanskrit, 204
 Sarajevo, 50, 53, 57, 116, 253, 275, 383
 Sava, R., 6, 71, 74, 75, 96, 196
 Sava, Vladika, 61
 Savska *banovina*, 332-5 (and fig.)
 Sazonov, M., 142
 Scardona, 35
 Scarlet fever, 362
 Schacht, Dr, 180
 Slavonia, 121, 196, 197 (fig.)
 Scott, Sir Walter, 310
 Sculpture, medieval, 293-7; modern, 315-16
 Scurvy, 371
 Scutari, *see* Skadar
 Scutari, Convention of (1859), 65
 SDK, 161, 162
 'Sebastocrat', 86
 Sebenico, 35, 37 (fig.), 40
 Secondary education, 228-9
 Segna, *see* Senj
 Selce, 293
 Semendria, *see* Smederevo
 Seminaries, 233
 Senate, 329-30

 Senj, 50
 Senta, 274
 Sephardim Jews, 221, 252, 253
 Serb Agrarian Party, 321, 338-45
 Serbi, 198
 Serbia, medieval, 77-91 (and figs.), 122, 214, 295-301; under Turkish rule, 91-9 (and figs.), 215-16; modern development, 99-116 (and figs.), 119, 134-7 (and fig.), 216, 221-3, 317-18, 379-80 (and fig.)
 Serbian Royal Academy of Science, 231
 Serbo-Croat, 103-4, 117, 203-11 (and figs.)
 Serbs, 30, 44, 69, 70-7 *passim* (and figs.), 78-116 *passim*, 126-7, 133-4, 155, 197, 198-9
 'Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Kingdom of', 146, 148
 Seres, 86
 Services, health, 352-7
 Servile tenures, 57, 123
 Seton-Watson, R. W., 28
Sevdalinke, 302
 Shkodra, *see* Skadar
 Sickness insurance, 357
 Silver mines, 2
 Simeon, Emperor, 79, 121
 Simić, 233
 Simović, General, 190, 345
 Sisojevac, 297
 Sistova, Treaty of (1791), 62, 99
 Skadar, 2, 58, 63, 69, 295
 Skoplje, 86, 114, 115, 126, 208, 216, 231, 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.), 275-6, 351, 377
 Skradin, *see* Scardona
Skupština, 100-10 *passim*, 147, 157, 159, 160, 162, 167, 176, 179, 184, 224, 317, 318, 321, 323, 324, 329-31, 343
 'Skupština murders', 160, 342
Slatko, 282
Slava, 262, 289
 Slavonia, 13-31 (and figs.), 134-7 (and fig.), 314
 Slavonic languages, 203-4
 Slavonic, Old, 102-3, 209, 299, 300
 Slavs, early movements, 2-5, 31-2, 121, 196-8 (and fig.)
 Slavs, South, *see* Croats, Serbs, Slovenes
 Slovak Evangelical Church, 225
 Slovak language, 203
 Slovaks, 5, 72, 76, 77, 155, 236, 249
Slovenci, 197, 198
 Slovene Clerical party, *see* Slovene Popular party
 Slovene Liberal party, 157
 Slovene Popular party, 13, 235, 321, 339-45 *passim*
 Slovene speech, 6, 7-8, 9-13 *passim*, 203, 205 (fig.), 208, 313

- Slovene Workers, Union of, 278
Slovenec, 198
Slovenec (newspaper), 235
 Slovenes, 6-13, 30, 76-7, 134-7, 155, 197
 Slovenia, 3-13 (and figs.), 211, 217-18, 237, 293-5, 313, 319, 373-5, 382
 'Slovenija', 12
Slovenski Dom, 236
Slovenski Narod, 236
 Slovencian language, 203
 Smederevo, 90-1, 93, 100
 Social conditions, 255-91, 381-3
 Social Democrat party, 321, 339-45 *passim*
 Social legislation, 277-8
 Social Medicine, Institute of, 356
 Sofia, administrative region of (1941), 377
Sofra, 272
Sokol, 234
 Sokol law, 165
 Sokolović, Mehmet, 93, 215
 Solin, *see* Salona
 Sombor, 73, 274, 327
 South Serb Museum, 233
 'South Slav question', 13, 136
 Sorb language, 203
 Spahi, 94
 Spaho, Dr, 169, 177, 182
 Spalato, *see* Split
 Special schools, 227
 Spič, 63, 66
 Spizza, *see* Spič
 Split, 35, 37 (fig.), 195, 212, 275, 293, 294, 295, 376
 Split, Council of, 209
 Spoleto, Duke of, 378
Sporazum, 183-4, 188, 334, 235, 345, 351
 Spuž, 65
Srbi, 197, 198
 Srebrnik, 50
 Srem, 17, 21, 178, 238, 243, 250
 Sremska Mitrovica, 351
 Sremski Karlovci, *see* Karlovci
Sreski načelnik, 335
Sreski sudovi, 346
 Srezovi, 326-7, 335, 346, 380
Srpska Državna Straža, 380
 Srškić, Dr, 168
 Stabilization of currency (1922), 160
 Stambuliski, 158
 Stambuloff, 126
 Standard of living (1941-4), 381
 Stanković, Dr, 174, 189
 Stanojević, M. Aca, 167, 180
 Stara Gradiška, 351
 Starčević, Ante, 28
 Stari Vlah, 3, 197
 Starina Novak, 309
 Staro Nagoričino, 297
 State Archaeological Museum, 233
 State, Council of, 348
 State Museum (Cetinje), 234
 State School of Public Health (Zagreb), 352, 354-6
 Statistics, vital, 360-1
Statthalter, 373
 Stature, 202-3
Steiermark, Reichsgau, 373
 Stephen 'the First-Crowned', 83, 296
 Stepinac, Mgr, 382
 Stojadinović, Milan, 175-82 *passim*, 185, 187, 189, 223, 343, 345, 379
 Stojanović, 233
 Stone, Miss, 129
Stožernik, 378
 Strossmayer, Bishop, 28, 31, 133, 217, 231, 309 (plate)
 Struga, 376
 Strumica, 152
 Studenica, 293 (plate), 295, 296, 297
 Styria, 6-13 *passim* (and figs.), 134-7 (and fig.), 151, 237, 373
 Subotica, 20, 37, 274, 276, 327
 Subtertian malaria, 365
 Suffrage, 324-5, 327, 330-1, 334, 376
 Suhareka, sub-prefecture of (1941), 377
 Supilo, Franjo, 142
 Sušak, 375
 Sutjeska, 48
 Sutorina, 39
 'Swabians', 238
 Synod, Holy, 179, 221
 Syrmia, *see* Srem
 Šabac, 100, 216
 Šar Planina, 114, 117
 Šibenik, 234, 275, 376; *see also* Sebenico
 Škoda, 185
Šlivovica, 279
 Šokci, 70, 76, 243
 Štampar, Dr A., 352
 Štip, 208
 Štokavian dialect, 205-7 (and figs.), 210
Štrućne produžne škole, 229
 Šubašić, Dr Ivan, 184
 Šubić family, 16, 47
 Šumadija, 98, 99, 101, 199
 Šumadija type of house, 266-8 (and fig.)
Tabornik, 378
 Takovo, 101
 Tambura, 303
 Tamerlane, 89
 Tardieu, M., 149
 Tartars, 83
Tava, 281

- Tchermen, battle of (1371), 89
 Technical education, 229-31
 Temesvar, Banat of, *see* Banat, the
 Tenures, servile, 57, 123
 Teodosije, 300
 Terrorist activities in Macedonia, 127-9
 Tetanus, 362
 Tetovo, 207, 248 (fig.), 250 (fig.), 376, 377
 Theatres, 277, 315
 Theotokos Orans, 298
 Thracians, 2, 194
 Tiberius, Emperor, 2
 Tilsit, Treaty of (1807), 41, 62
 Timok, diocese of, 216
 Timok, R., 152, 206, 247
 Tisza, Count Stephen, 145
 Tito, Marshal, 384, 385
 Toleration, Edict of (1781), 73
 Tomašević, Stephen, 49
 Tomić, General, 174
 Tomislav, King, 15, 213
 Tomislav II, King, 378
 Tommaseo, 42
 Torre, Signor, 144, 148
 Town life, 273-7
 Trabunja, 81, 295
 Trade, medieval, 9, 15, 40, 85, 86; modern, 160, 171
 Trade Unions, 278
 Tragurion, 195
 Training colleges, 228, 229, 233
 Transylvania, 17, 52
 Traù, *see* Trogir
 Travnik, 50, 53, 251 (fig.)
 Travunja, *see* Trabunja
 Trebenište, 292
 Trebinje, 296
 Trepča mines, 244, 377
Trgovačke akademije, 230
 'Trialist' solution, 31, 137
 Trianon, Treaty of (1920), 152
 Trieste, 6, 134, 149-51, 166
 Tripartite Pact, 187, 188
 Trogir, 35, 40, 195, 234, 293 (and plate), 294, 295
 Tropical Diseases, Laboratory for, 356
 Trubar, Primož, 8, 313
 Trumbić, Ante, 43, 142, 144-7 *passim*, 148, 158, 159
 Tuberculosis, 363-4
 Turin, Congress of (1381), 35
 Turkey, 173, 185, 187
 Turks, 7, 17, 49-55 *passim*, 60, 61, 70, 81 (fig.), 88-9, 117, 133, 155, 236, 249, 250 (fig.)
 Tuzla, 239 (fig.), 241 (fig.), 251 (fig.)
 Tvrtko, Stephen, 17, 35-6, 47-9 (and fig.), 89, 213
 Typhoid fever, 362, 369
 Typhus fever, 362, 368
Učiteljske škole, 228, 229, 233
 Uiberreither, Siegfried, 373
Ujedinjeni Radnički Sindikati, 278
 Ukrainian language, 203
 Ulcinj, 66, 85
 Uniates, 57, 71, 124, 155, 156 (fig.), 219, 220 (fig.), 224
 Union and Progress, Committee of, 130
 Universities, 228, 229, 331, 383
 Ural-Altaic group, 5
 Urbanić, Djuro, 235
 Uroš, Simeon, 88
 Uroš, Stephen (I), 85, 296
 Uroš, Stephen (II), 84, 298
 Uroš, Stephen (III), 84
 Uroš, Stephen (IV), *see* Dušan, Stephen
 Uroš, Stephen (V), 88
 U.R.S., 278
 Uskoks, 38, 50, 309
 Uskoplje, 38
 Ūsküb, *see* Skoplje
 U.S.S.R., 185, 190, 191
Ustaša party, 378
 Ustaše, 382, 383, 384
 Uzdolje, 293
 Uzes, 122
 Uzunović cabinet, 175
 'Vali', 50
 Valona, 86
 Valvasor, Freiherr von, 9
 Varaždin, 18, 239 (fig.), 241 (fig.), 251 (fig.)
 Vardar, R., 85, 112, 116 (fig.), 132, 377
 Vardar type of house, 271, 272 (fig.)
 Vardariotes, 122
 Vardarska *banovina*, 332-5 (and fig.)
 Varnava, patriarch, 221, 224
 Vasilije, Vladika, 61
 Vatican, 222-4
 Veglia, *see* Krk Island
Velike Župe, 378
 Veles, 114, 208
 Veles-Debar, diocese of, 216
 Velika Planina, 273 (plate)
 Veliki Bečkerek, 234, 380
 Veluče, 297
 Venezia Giulia, 166
 Venice, republic of, 15, 17, 32-41 (and figs.), 58, 123, 294, 295
 Versailles, Treaty of (1919), 147, 149
 'Vestal Virgin', 314 (plate), 316
 Vetranović, 311
 Vidin, 94
Vidovdan, 89, 165
Vidovdan constitution, *see* Constitution of 1921
 Vienna, Congress of, 10, 11, 24, 62, 101
 Vienna Pact (1941), 187, 190
 Vienna, Treaty of (1809), 10, 23
 Vilayets, 117, 124, 132

Vile, 288, 306
 Village life, 261-3
 Vinča, 292
Viribus Unitis, 146
 Virovitica, 21
 Vis, 41, 195
 Visigoths, 3, 195
 Višegrad, 272 (plate)
 Vital statistics, 360-1
 Vitaljina, 376
 Vlachia, 3, 196
 Vlachs, 51, 117, 119, 126-7, 133, 249
 Vladikas, 59-65
 Vladimir, King, 295
 Vladislav, King, 296
 Vocational schools, 229
 Vodnik, Valentin, 10, 313
 Vlastimir, 78
 Vojislav, Stephen, 81
Vojvoda, 71
 Vojvodina, the, 26, 70-7 (and figs.), 96, 134, 152, 161, 178-9, 200, 238, 242-3, 271, 314
Volksbund, 240, 242, 374
Volksdeutsche, 242
Volksgruppe, 240, 242, 378, 380, 383
 Vranje, 206, 377
Vrbaska banovina, 332-5 (and fig.)
Vrbica, 287
Vreme, 235
 Vrhbosna, *see* Sarajevo
 Vršac, 152, 234, 238, 327
 Vučić, 105
 Vukašin, King, 88-9
Vukašin, Marriage of King, 305
 Vukčić, Hrvoje, 49
 Vukčić, Stephen, 49
 Vukičević, M., 161

 Wallachia, 3, 96, 196
Walling of Skutari, 306
 War of 1914-18, 116, 133, 137, 141-7 (and figs.)
 Water supplies, 263, 358-60 (and figs.)
 Welles, Mr Sumner, 190
 Wells, 359-60
 Wendish language, 203
 White Russian language, 203
 Whooping cough, 362
 'Wife of Hassan Aga', 304
 William of Tyre, 81
 Wilson, Woodrow, 144, 145, 148-50

Women, position of, 290-1
 Workers, Central Office for the Insurance of, 357
 Workers' Syndicates, Union of, 278
 Workmen's Protection Act, 278

Xerophthalmia, 371

'Young Turks', 130-2, 245

Zabavišta, 227
 Zabljak, 59, 63
 Zadar, bishopric of, 217; *see also* Zara
Zadruga, 201, 257, 258, 260-1
Zadužbina, 296
 Zagreb, 15, 18, 156, 165, 238, 274, 276, 315, 351, 361, 382, 383
 Zagreb, Declaration of, 146, 148
 Zagreb, diocese of, 177, 212
 Zagreb Manifesto, 169, 170
 Zagreb, university of, 231, 232, 383
 Zahumlje, 81
 'Zakonik', 87, 300
 Zapolya, John, 17, 18
 Zara, 35, 44, 45, 150, 151, 294, 310, 376
 Zara, Resolution of, 44, 135
 Zara, Treaty of (1358), 35
 Zaravecchia, *see* Biograd
 Zbor, 343
Zdrastevni Dom, 353
Združenje Slovenskih Delavcev, 278
 Zec, Dr, 174
 Zemun, 73, 238, 334
 Zengg, *see* Senj
 Zenica, 351
 Zeta, 58, 78-88 *passim* (and figs.), 200, 216, 295
Zetska banovina, 332-5 (and fig.)
 Zlatarić, 312
 Zois, Baron, 10
 Zrinski, George, 217
 Zrinski, Nicholas, 21, 195
 Zrmanja, R., 315
 Zvonimir, 15, 212, 294

Ženske pesme, 302
Ziča, 83, 216, 296 (and plate)
 Žiri, 374
 Živković, General, 164, 167, 175, 176, 342
Župan, 15, 78-80, 325, 326, 327
Župe, 45

